What's de Gaulle Up To?

February 27, 1964 35¢

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THE REPORTER

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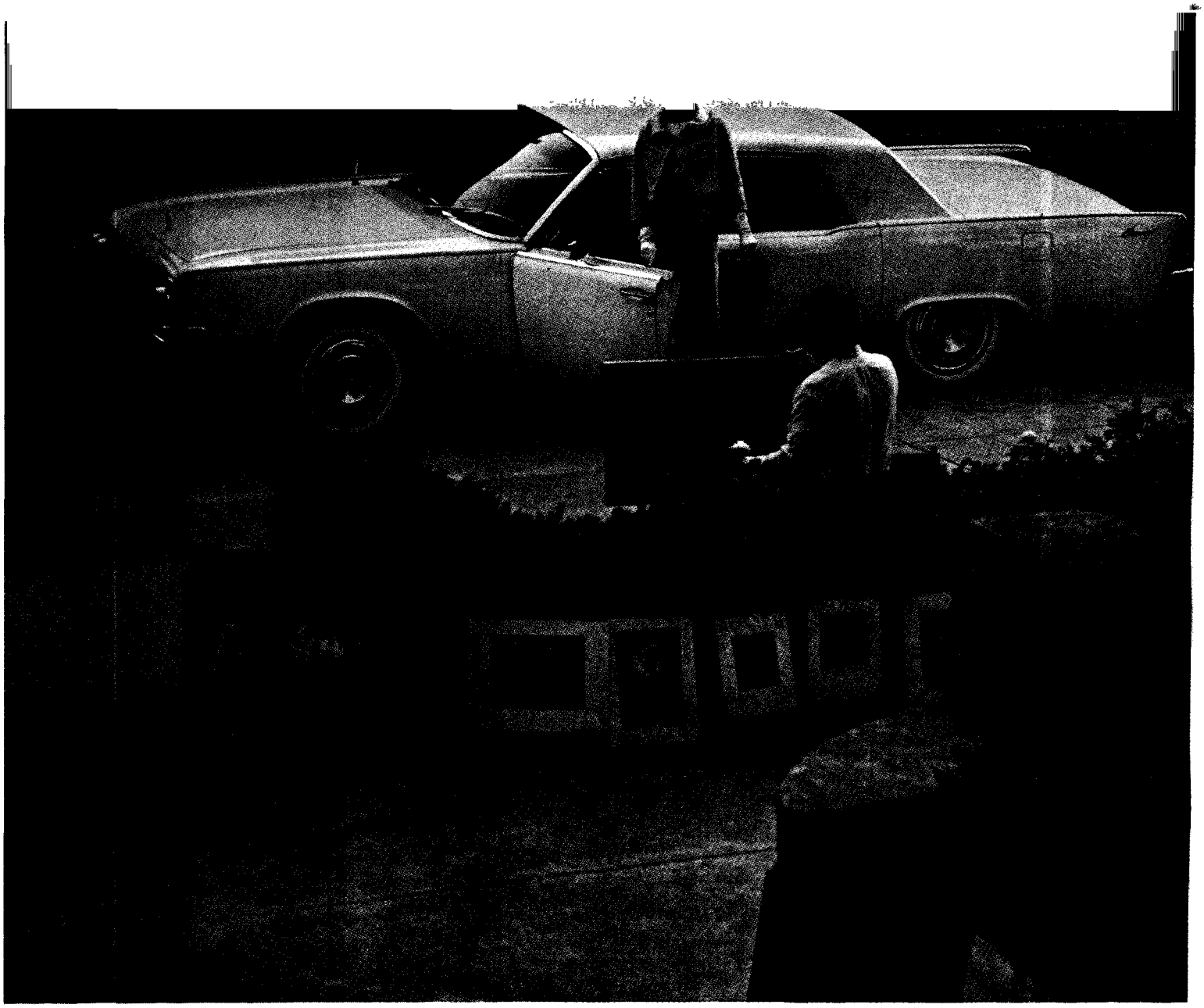

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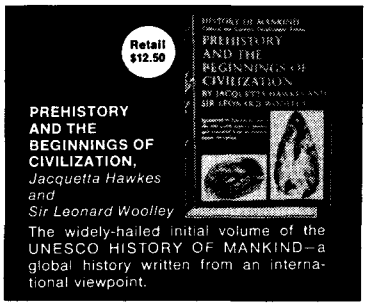

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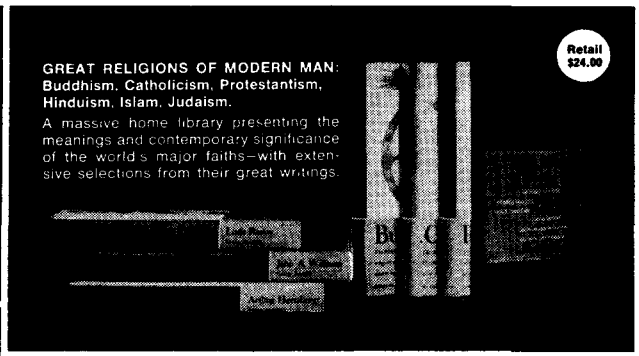

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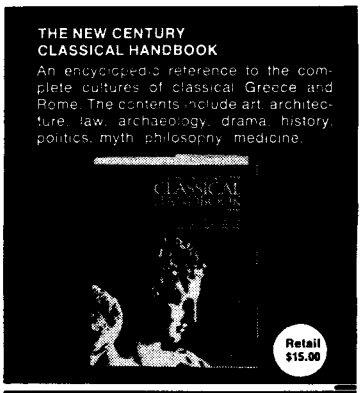

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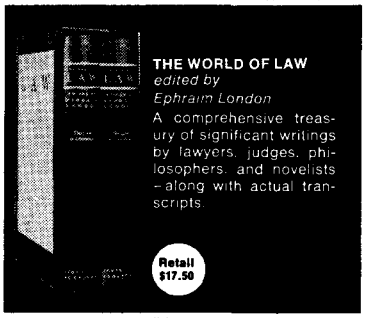

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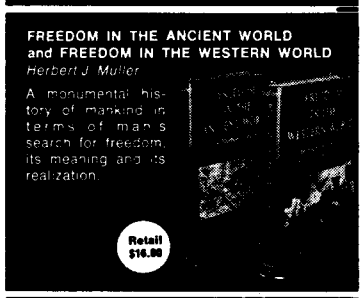

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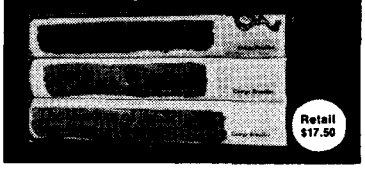

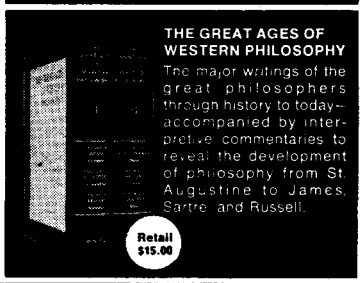

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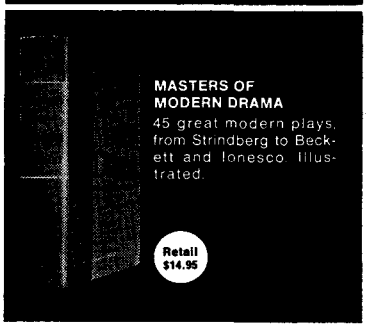

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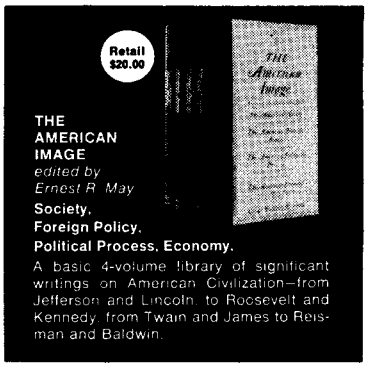

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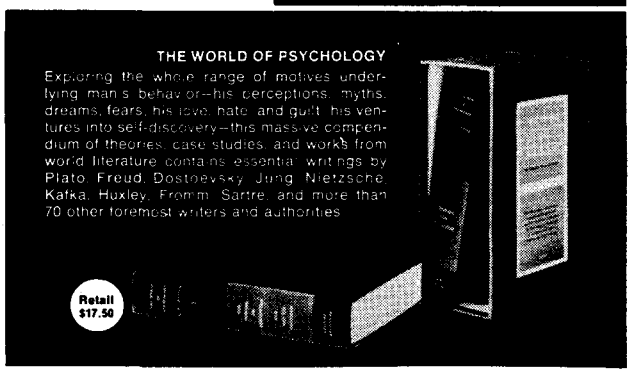

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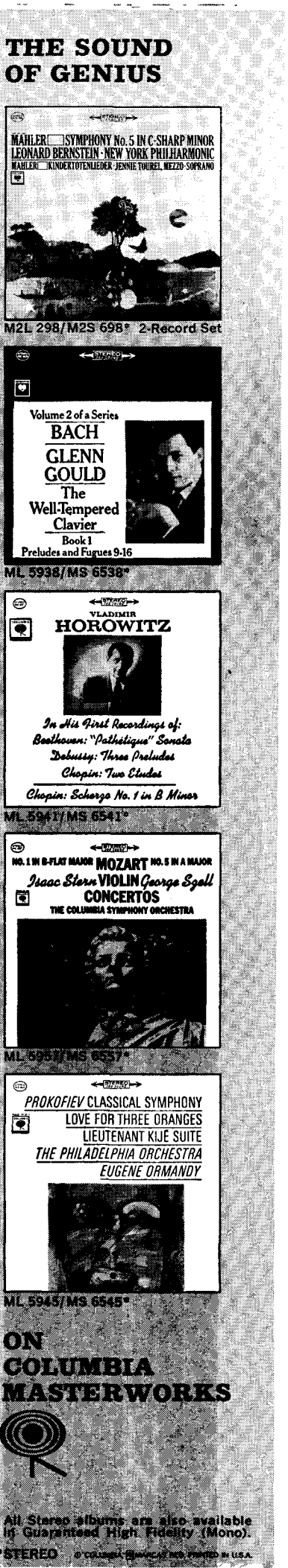
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WITH ALL due respect to President Johnson, who recently saw fit to ridicule "alarmists" and "bellyachers" here at home as "almost as much of a problem as some of our other enemies," we think there is quite a lot to be alarmed about in the world today. The familiar disorders produced by dirty little oligarchies, ancient and uncivilized savagery, and unremitting Communist conspiracy are bad enough. But when the crisis occurs at the core of our Western Alliance, there would seem to be ample cause for alarm. The editorials in this magazine have often praised General de Gaulle for actions and policies that many people have found annoyingly quixotic. But in this issue, **Max Ascoli** suggests that the abruptness of France's latest diplomatic initiative in Asia, while perhaps revealing de Gaulle's sure sense of the inevitabilities of history, may have done a grave disservice to the Alliance of which France is and must remain a part.

The editorial is followed by brief reports on three of the items on our current foreign-policy menu that are definitely conducive to bellyaches. . . . **Edmond Taylor's** latest book is *The Fall of the Dynasties: The Collapse of the Old Order, 1905-1922* (Doubleday). . . . **Denis Warner,** an Australian journalist who has been reporting on Southeast Asia in this magazine for the last six years, is the author of *The Last Confucian* (Macmillan). . . . **Donald A. Allan** is on our staff; **George Sherman,** State Department correspondent for the Washington *Evening Star,* covered the Panama crisis from its inception.

THE MOST diffident approach yet to the Republican Presidential nomination is the non-campaign not being waged by non-candidate William W. Scranton. Pennsylvania's governor sticks close to Harrisburg and lets the world come to him. **Paul Duke,** a member of NBC's Washington news staff, found that despite his protestations of indifference, Scranton's political affairs are being run with a very sharp eye to the July Republican convention. . . . School boycotts are scheduled soon for cities in Ohio, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Illinois, among other places, all taking their cue from New York City's February 3 demonstration. **Thomas R. Brooks,** a free-lance writer who specializes in labor and civil-rights reporting, assesses the effects of that boycott. . . . The processes of the Supreme Court grind slowly, and never more so than when the Justices must make historic definitions involving the states. Such is the case in the present term, where the Court is being asked to set standards for political reapportionment by Federal courts stemming from its 1962 Tennessee decision. **James E. Clayton,** who covers the tribunal for the Washington *Post,* notes that the forthcoming elections have created a sense of urgency in many states where reapportionment cases are in litigation. . . . **Daniel F. Ford,** who lives and works in New Hampshire as an editor at the state university's publications office, gives a local view of what it's like to be at the starting line for the quadrennial political race.

THE ARTICLE by **C. Vann Woodward** is excerpted from his introduction to a nineteenth-century polemic on the Negro question by Lewis H. Blair, which Little, Brown is publishing in hard cover and paperback in March as *A Southern Prophet.* Professor Woodward, author of *The Burden of Southern History* (Louisiana State University Press and Vintage Paperback), is on the faculty at Yale. . . . Arthur Miller's much-admired and much-criticized new play is reviewed by **Tom F. Driver,** our regular drama critic. Professor Driver has recently edited, with Robert Pack, an anthology of modern religious poetry, *Poems of Doubt and Belief* (Macmillan). . . . **Jay Jacobs,** artist and writer, is a frequent contributor. . . . A pictorial commentary on the Surgeon General's report is supplied by our Chilean artist, **Fernando Krahn.** . . . **William H. Hessler** is on the staff of the Cincinnati *Enquirer.* . . . **Ralph A. Stone** is professor of history at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio.

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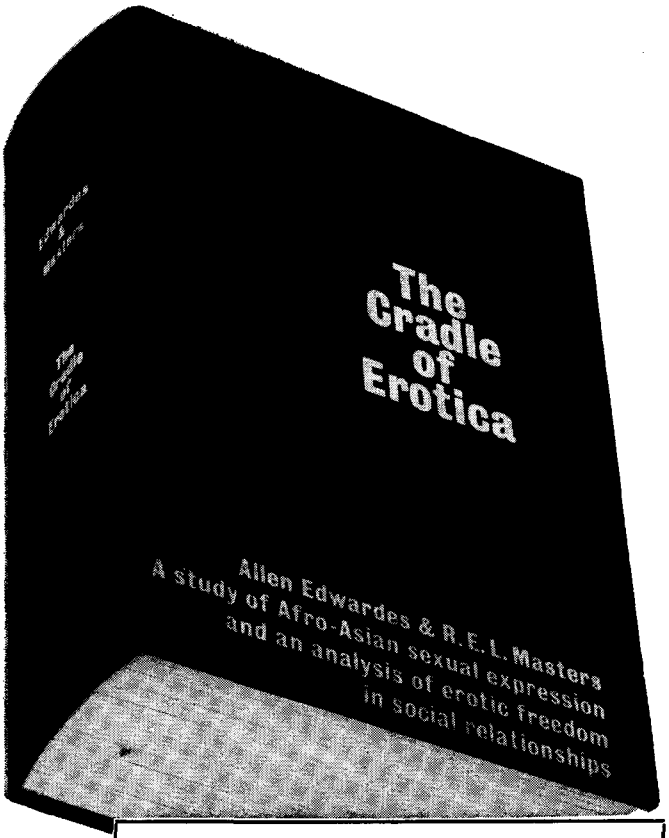
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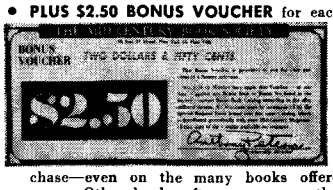

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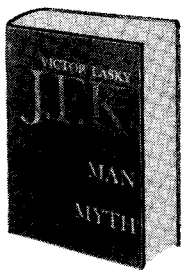

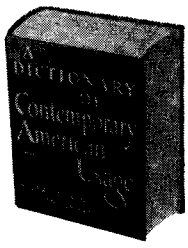

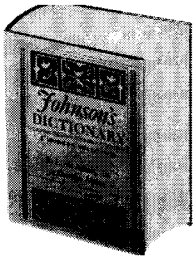

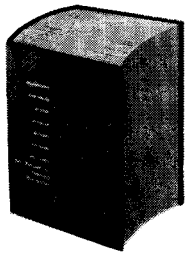

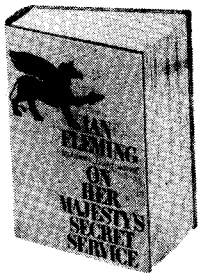

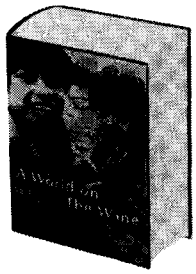

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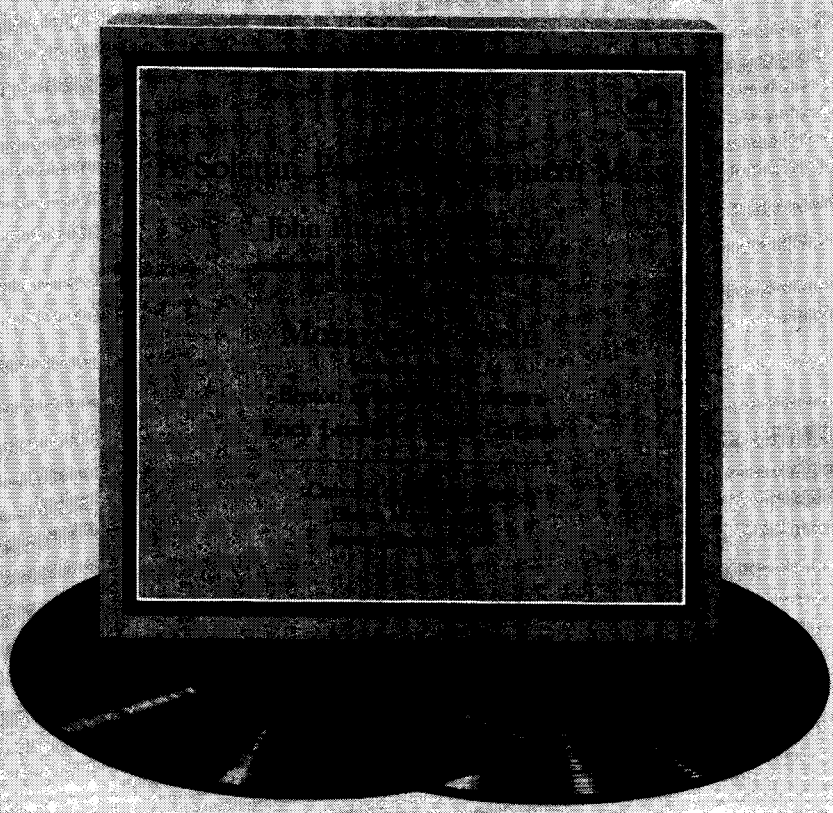

On January 19, the Memorial Mass and a performance of Mozart's Requiem was telecast by NBC-TV and also recorded by RCA Victor. The two L.P. album contains the booklet presented to guests attending the Memorial Mass. In tribute to the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the performing artists in this recording have contributed their services, and RCA Victor will also contribute its normal proceeds to the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library Fund in Boston.

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CORRESPONDENCE

FOREIGN AID

To the Editor: Paul Duke's article "The Foreign Aid Fiasco," in the January 16 issue of *The Reporter*, is the most comprehensive evaluation I have seen of how and why Congress made such a disastrous mess of the foreign aid appropriations bill. I consider it an essential complement to and explanation of the Clay Report.

GERTRUDE L. SANBORN
Wilton, Connecticut

To the Editor: Mr. Duke's article is excellent—and not merely because he reported a remark I made a year or so ago about the excessive emphasis that was being placed on the reorganization of foreign aid! I would put a somewhat different interpretation on some of the events and change emphasis here and there. For example, it is my impression that President Johnson *did* avert what appeared likely to be an even greater "disaster." I am, of course, not nearly as close to the Congressional arena as Mr. Duke is, but it seems to me that the appropriation would have been even smaller if President Johnson had not jumped into the fracas as vigorously as he did.

I have also felt that the "collapse" of bipartisan support for the foreign-aid program must be laid, at least in part, to the extraordinary efforts the Kennedy administration took to disparage and downgrade the foreign-aid activities of the previous administrations. The program was no good—let's turn it around; the administrative structure was hopelessly ineffective—let's reorganize it; the people were incompetent—let's fire them and get a new team. After all, Republicans are human beings too and as such they could hardly have been expected to react other than negatively to such disparagement.

One other brief comment occurs to me. Mr. Duke does not mention the extremely detrimental effect on the aid program of the continuous and inexcusable interference in program decisions and administrative management by second- and third-level White House staffers, all of whom were complete amateurs in the field.

D. A. FITZGERALD
The Brookings Institution
Washington

To the Editor: "The Foreign Aid Fiasco" was one of the most comprehensive reports on the problems and paradoxes of foreign aid yet published. Although I might not agree with all of Mr. Duke's interpretation of events, one factual error should be corrected for the record.

An unnamed source was quoted as saying that the Center for International Economic Growth assisted businessmen in getting contracts from AID. This was not only false but would have been

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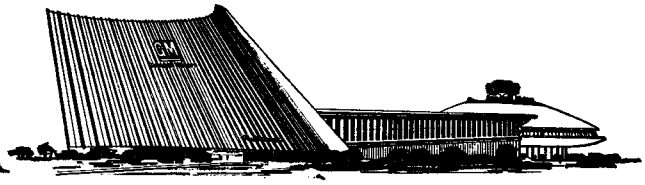

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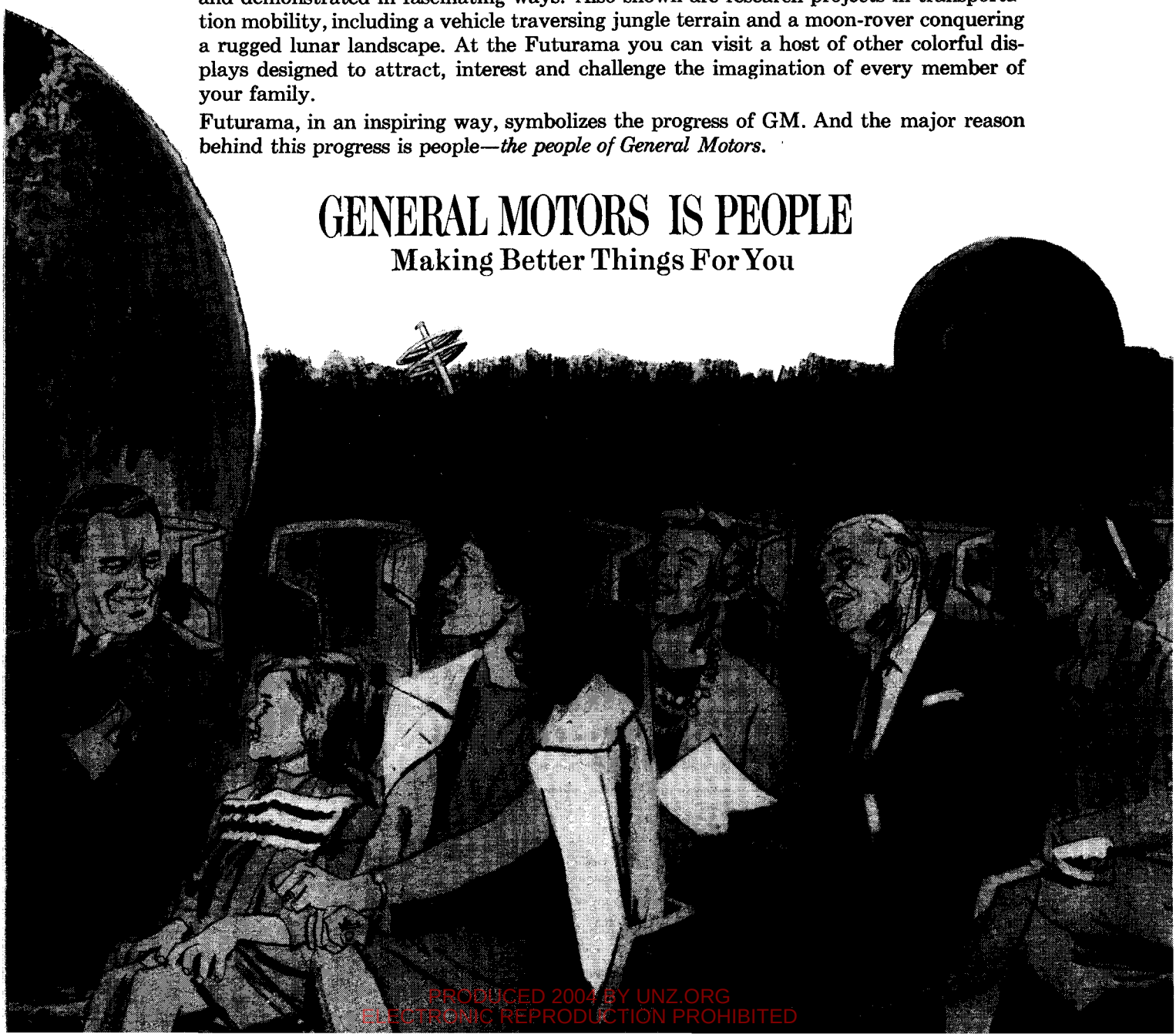

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THE REPORTER

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illegal by the terms of its charter. In fact, two frequent criticisms of the CIEG were that it did not plead the cause of private enterprise and that it did not conduct a lobby.

For five and a half years the CIEG conducted an information, education, and publishing program on all aspects of international development. Its services may be missed less by the government than by citizen groups, over four hundred educational institutions, and the wide variety of nongovernment groups now involved in overseas economic and social development which it served.

H. S. CROWLEY
Former Executive Director
Center for International Economic Growth
Washington, D.C.

THE BIG TOWN

To the Editor: Barbara Carter's "New York City—Can It Be Governed?" in your January 30 issue fairly analyzes the dilemma of a city in a downward spiral, looking for a real leader to face up to its problems. Ours may be a government of laws, but it is men who administer them, and no city charter will provide good administration; it can only make it possible.

One correction: I am not "disgruntled," just "frustrated."

THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN
Council of the City of New York

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #95

A	Z	I	N	E	S	■	O	C	C	A	S	I	O	N
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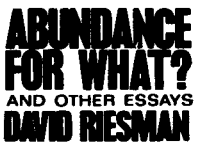

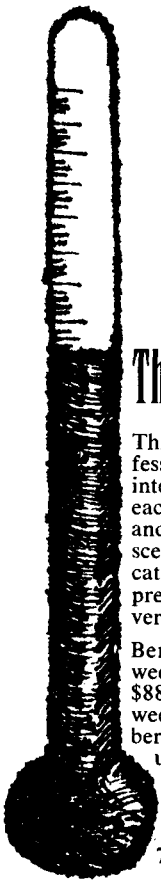

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To the Editor: Miss Carter's article leaves the impression that New York is going to the dogs.

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EDWARD R. DUDLEY, President
Borough of Manhattan

To the Editor: Bravo for a close-up X-ray of our greatest city. It is penetrating and provocative despite the pessimistic pallor that permeates most every paragraph. I only wish Miss Carter had presented some of the brighter features symbolized by some fairly first-rate commissioners who are pioneering in certain administrative directions, the energetic efforts of civil service to bring the best campus talent into municipal administration, and the spirited attack on many cancerous problems by some council members. All of these, I grant, are often on a hit-or-miss, erratic basis, and the over-all spirit of city affairs is flabby and sloppy.

R. J. NOVOGROD
Acting Chairman
Department of Political Science
Long Island University
Brooklyn

To the Editor: The League of Women Voters is deeply concerned with several of the problems described by Miss Carter and we welcome her enlightening article. We do not, however, subscribe to the thought that a modern and efficient government for New York City is unattainable. The League of Women Voters believes that improvements in governmental structure and operations can and will be brought about to the extent that the public knows and cares enough to see to it.

ELIZABETH SCHACK, President
League of Women Voters
of the City of New York

THE JUDGMENT OF DANIEL

To the Editor: An editorial "Note" entitled "What's Fit to Print?" in *The Reporter* for January 2, 1964, questions the accuracy of remarks I attribute to the late President Kennedy that violently condemn the Batista régime in Cuba. ["I think that there is not a country in the world, including all the regions of Africa and including any country under colonial domination, where the economic colonialization, the humiliation, the exploitation have been worse than those which ravaged Cuba, the result, in part, of the policy of my country during the Batista regime."]

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has had; since, in a word, you question no less than my honor as a journalist, I am obliged to refute your charges.

Immediately after my interview with President Kennedy I told Joe Kraft, *Harper's* Washington correspondent, all that had been said, stressing particularly that passage in the interview which you question. I then went to see Gilbert Harrison, editor of the *New Republic*, and made the same full report to him. Next day I repeated once again John F. Kennedy's vehement words condemning Batista and his American supporters to Ben Bradlee, head of *Newsweek's* Washington Bureau, who had made it possible for me to interview the President. In those days John F. Kennedy was still very much alive: I had no reason whatever to foresee that he might be prevented from repudiating, any time he chose, the remarks I had attributed to him and had repeated to close friends of his.

Upon my return from Havana, I met in Washington three of the most highly placed White House officials. It would not be proper for me to identify them without their authorization. None of these close associates of President Kennedy expressed the slightest surprise at the extreme violence of the late President's condemnation of the Batista régime or of the extreme violence with which he condemned the support given Batista by the United States. One of the three pointed out to me that the last Kennedy speech on Latin America, which he made in Miami four or five days before his assassination, was predicated on the same principles. In that speech the President accused Castro of betraying the Cuban revolution, but he approved the revolution.

JEAN DANIEL
Paris

The Editor replies:

We have reread the speech President Kennedy gave in Miami four days before his assassination and find, as might have been expected, the familiar view that "The genuine Cuban revolution, because it was against the tyranny and corruption of the past, had the support of many whose aims and concepts were democratic. But that hope for freedom and progress was destroyed." It was not the idea that Batista's government was bad that shocked us but, as we tried to indicate, the fatuous excess of the statement attributed to Mr. Kennedy. We still find it difficult to believe, as M. Daniel and some of Kennedy's friends apparently do, that a President of the United States would single out Cuba under Batista as the worst example of colonial oppression in the world and to go on to state that in some measure it was our fault. And if, speaking extemporaneously off the record to a foreign journalist, he had said anything that might be so misunderstood, we are sure that he himself would have corrected it before authorizing M. Daniel to put it on the record.

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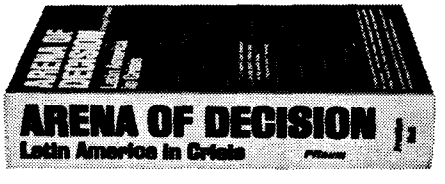

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

News Management (Cont.)

For several weeks prior to the current spate of articles on the subject, reporters in Washington had been asking one another when someone was going to do "the" piece about President Johnson and press. They were referring to the President's preoccupation with and sensitivity to the newsmen's stories about him and to his apparent efforts to guide those stories, or, as the well-worn phrase has it, "to manage the news." Now that piece has been done many times over. The most persuasively documented version of it was one written by Louisville *Courier-Journal* correspondent Richard Harwood.

Noting the mysterious way that information from FBI files was offered to reporters for the purpose of discrediting a witness in the Bobby Baker investigation, Harwood added other examples of attempts to kill, or at any rate to maim, unfriendly stories. He also computed the somewhat astonishing number of news-gathering organizations from which delegates had come to lunch with the President—Associated Press, United Press International, *Time, Life, Newsweek, Saturday Evening Post,* New York *Herald Tribune, Wall Street Journal,* ABC, NBC, and CBS. (The New York *Times* entertained the President at luncheon in its own offices.) Finally, Harwood disclosed instances of image-tinkering as distinct from straightforward attempts to squash or redirect stories or to win general editorial good will. "While Johnson was dealing with the press in Texas," he wrote, "the Budget Bureau was holding an unprecedented 'background briefing' for a handful of reporters. They were given intimate details of Johnson's budget-cutting efforts—how he had pounded his fist at Cabinet meetings, how he had ruthlessly vetoed budget increases for the White House itself, and how he had taken a personal hand in the campaign to cut the Federal payroll. Cecil Holland's account of Johnson as a budget cutter appeared in the Sunday edition of the Washington *Star.* That afternoon he got a call from Texas. It was the President who spent half an hour praising Holland for the story."

What can the public conclude about the growing state of hostility between the President and a good part of the press? To many people outside Washington, these periodic outbreaks of indignation and complaint must seem as tedious as they are predictable. To the charge that one has been "managed," an obvious answer seems to suggest itself: "Well then, don't be managed; be independent." Like everything else, however, it's not quite as simple as that. For a Washington reporter's life is in many ways a perpetual conflict between friendship and professional duty, between the obligation to "understand" why something has happened and the danger of "understanding" it to the point of silence. Thus, the Chicago *Daily News's* respected correspondent Peter Lisagor observed recently on a television broadcast that there is a great "psychological undertow" resulting from association with the subject of a story—the President in this particular case. "You tend to soften the edges of criticism," he said. ". . . You tend to obscure, minimize things that the public generally ought to be hearing about, ought to know."

The problem is equally difficult from the President's point of view. Neither he nor his aides can be expected to cease and desist entirely from their extraofficial relationship with the press, since the obligation of an administration to explain its actions is as great as the press's own obligation to try to understand them. There is a fine line, however, between correcting a misleading

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A nation was built on the principle that "in union there is strength." The principle is no less applicable in broadcasting today.

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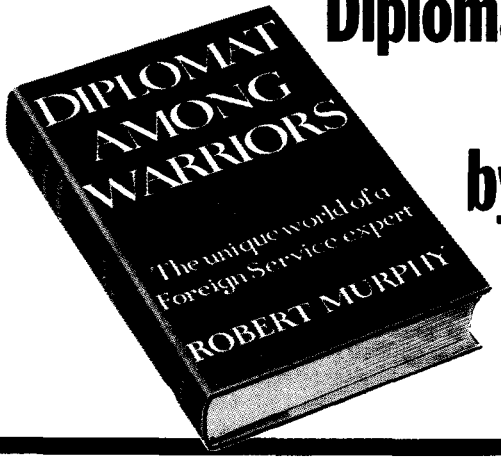

Diplomat Among Warriors by ROBERT MURPHY

DOUBLEDAY

story and intimidating a newspaper, just as there is a fine line between keeping the press informed and killing it with over-attention. President Johnson seems to have crossed both lines in recent weeks. Much in the manner of his predecessor early in his administration, the President has seemed to believe that editors, publishers, and staff men can be as firmly convinced as he is of the wisdom of what he is trying to do; and like President Kennedy before him, he has become infuriated when from time to time they seem to miss the point.

Ultimately, President Kennedy had come to recognize many of the limitations on his office so far as the press was concerned. And it is likely that President Johnson soon will recognize them, too. Newsmen, he is in the process of discovering, can be, as a body, just as sensitive to unfairness to one or more of their members as congressmen are. Again, many of them have a disconcerting way of doing violence to an image as soon as they see that image being fiddled with, patched, and promoted for their benefit. And, paradoxically, the more they are courted the less useful they become, either to their readers or to their subjects. "The press," as Peter Lisagor put it, "has in recent years become a kind of public institution. Newspapermen have become public figures all too often. And they're no longer private figures who are doing a job and who do it in an anonymous way. Everybody now has to have a piece of the action . . . ." He went on to predict that President Johnson, like President Kennedy, would soon "get swallowed up by the job" and that then the press would revert to its "natural function." We found his definition of that function a useful one: "I think we ought to be auditing the President and all of his actions," he said, "and stop worrying too much about our personal relations with a President or our personal position . . . in this town of Washington generally."

The Beatles' Secret

The parents of teen-age children have been betrayed by their natural tendency toward despair, it seems

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Today more than ever before, there's a big difference in news between the CBS Owned stations and their competition. This is one—*just one*—of the reasons why a CBS Owned television station has very special standing in the community it serves.

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to us, in concluding that the four hirsute Britons known as the Beatles constitute a grave threat to the morals and sanity of American youth. We are inclined to agree with a much more sophisticated sort of American mother, Mrs. Margaretta Fitler Murphy Rockefeller, who remarked after attending one of their recitals at Carnegie Hall, "They have a lot of talent."

They certainly do. Consider only the fact that the man who looks after their business affairs has predicted that the American economy will be stimulated during the next twelve months by some fifty million dollars' worth of expenditures for goods and services related to Beatle worship. There are to be wigs, dolls, tight pants, and even eggcups, in addition to millions of records and a series of religious ceremonies, such as the one Mrs. Rockefeller attended where the congregation is permitted to express its devotion directly through antiphonal responses that allow the Beatles themselves to conserve their own vocal chords for more demanding occasions, such as the Ed Sullivan Show.

All this clearly requires a very special sort of talent, and yet success has not turned the hairy heads of these plucky youths from the slums of Liverpool who have devoted themselves to the attainment of a goal that all of us must surely admire. In the words of John Lennon, the acknowledged leader Beatle, "What I like about this is the money and being famous. . . . I mean having a fellow putting 'Reserved' on the carriage door and everybody doing everything for you. I'm dead lazy."

It should be obvious that those pernickety musicologists who point out that Beatles make Elvis Presley look like Enrico Caruso have entirely missed the point. The Beatles make no claim to be great singers. What is their talent, then? In our considered opinion, they are the most brilliant social satirists of the age. Of course they have debased Rock 'n Roll to its ultimate absurdity. With luck, they will destroy it.

So parents, cheer up. Fifty million dollars is a small price to pay for the healing therapy these brilliant young performers are working on our shores. Don't hate the Beatles. They're really on your side.

A Big Splash

Greenville, South Carolina, is having its problems. Faced with a suit to integrate its municipal swimming pool, the city council voted last October to convert it into a "marineland." "Integrated pools operate at a loss," Alderman W.I. Bouton, chairman of the Parks and Recreation Committee, explained in proposing the switch. The economy-minded council apparently had no alternative but to import six sea lions from California. Since then, however, it's been just one thing after another, although the suit to integrate the pool has been "dismissed without prejudice" by the Federal district court—a pool for sea lions excludes Negroes and whites alike, and the principle of equality can be said to triumph over all. The trouble began as soon as the sea lions were flown in by jet from Santa Barbara. They not only needed a series of vitamin and antibiotic inoculations on arrival but fifty pounds of fish a day as well.

Yet the "animal groceries" budget had already been exceeded by $378 at that point, and the $1,500 ration allowance that was provided "obviously left no margin," one alderman found, "for feeding camels and yaks." (There was no question that camels and yaks deserved treatment equal to sea lions'.) No sooner had this thorny matter been adjusted than it was discovered that the pool had sprung a leak and water was escaping at the rate of 90,000 gallons a day. At this point, the acting mayor nervously announced that the city council was "not committed to stop the leak if repair costs become too extensive. . . ." The costs, however, turned out to be manageable, and for several days the local papers carried dolorous pictures of the woebegone seals dryly sitting it out on the shower-room benches while the pool was drained and the repairs were made. In mid-January a $1,200 concrete island with five spiral decks was lowered into the pool, and there is talk of a stainless-steel slide to come. But this gives no assurance yet that the sea lions will learn to be as happy as

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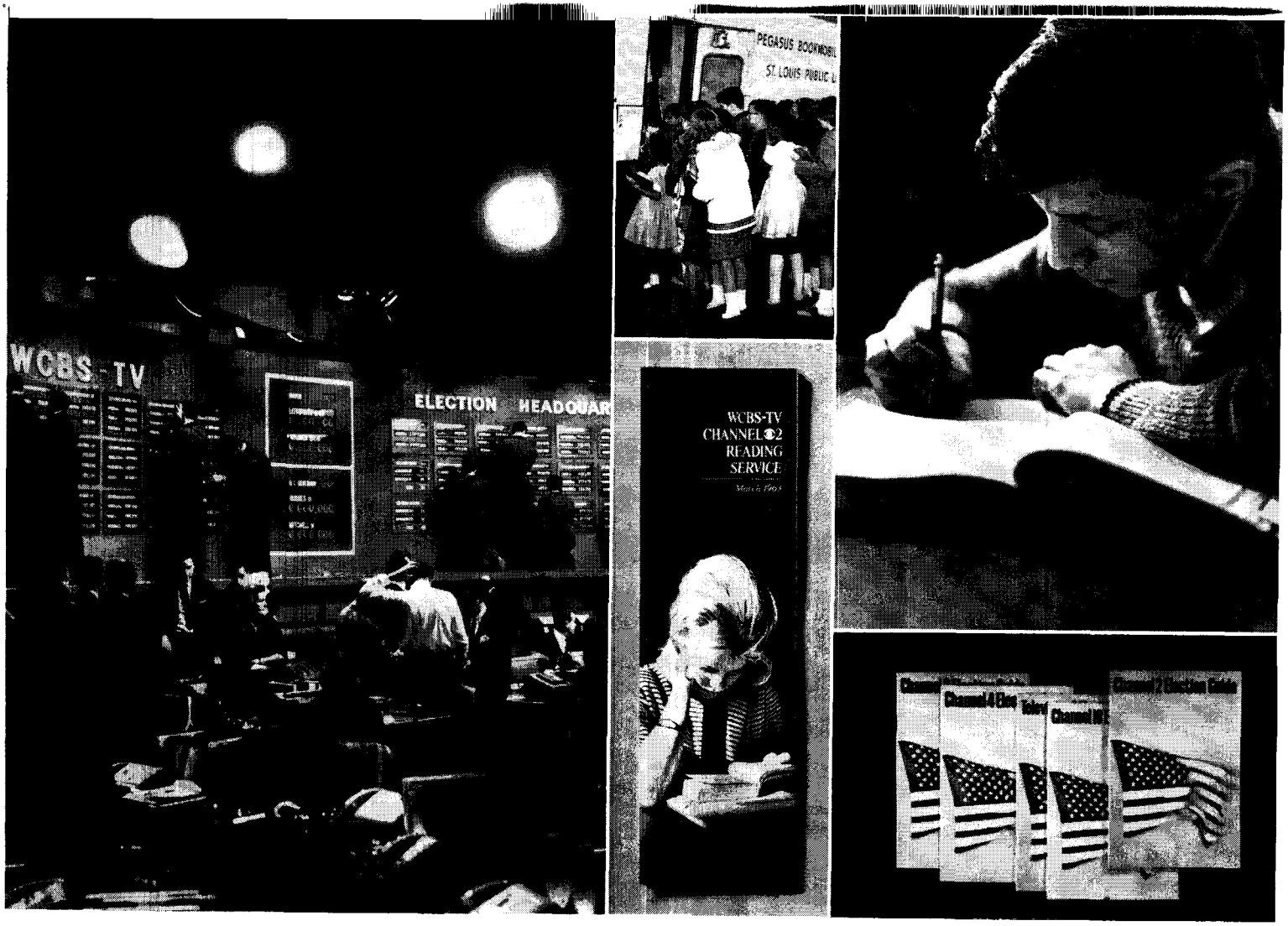

Community service makes a difference!

As practiced by the CBS Owned stations, community service extends far beyond the dimensions of the television screen. *How* far may be seen from just two examples.

In cooperation with public schools and libraries, the stations prepare monthly lists of books relating to the content of noteworthy future programs, and distribute them through schools and libraries, to encourage students to read more, and to make their television viewing beneficial to their studies. Now into its third year, this Television Reading Service is reaching an estimated 1,570,000 students through more than 2100 public and parochial schools and libraries.

Supplementing their broadcast political coverage, the stations produce comprehensive illustrated local Election Guides which are distributed en masse to local civic groups, schools and colleges before every major election. The American Heritage Foundation has called this project "an outstanding contribution" to its campaign to get out the vote.

Add such off-air activities to what's done *on* the air, and you begin to understand why the five CBS Owned television stations are so highly esteemed by local officials, by opinion leaders, by educators—as well as by viewers—in five major communities.

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kids, black or white, in a swimming pool. At the end of January, one sea lion was found dead of unknown causes at the side of the pool, and another died at the veterinarian's.

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The United States had no sooner recognized the civilian junta in Santo Domingo last December than the military leaders who had overthrown President Juan Bosch in September asked Washington for guns and planes. These requests were turned down, but one of our first acts upon renewal of diplomatic relations was to authorize a sum for the purchase of tear gas by the Dominican security police. A State Department spokesman reportedly explained that we would rather see gas than guns used in controlling any mob violence in the Dominican Republic.

Since then the news from Santo Domingo has not encouraged hopes that the new government will fulfill its promises of getting the country back on the track of social peace and democratic institutions. While the offices of President Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) remain padlocked, the party has been allowed to hold several public meetings. The first, held in Santo Domingo on January 26, attracted a crowd of thousands that was finally dispersed with that good old Made in U.S.A. tear gas. Then, on February 9, the police went back to guns. At a mass meeting of PRD followers in the town of Bani, the police fired into the crowd, wounding three persons.

The universally respected chairman of the civilian triumvirate, Emilio de los Santos, has resigned, reportedly over the killing of a Castroite leader and a number of members of his guerrilla band "shot while resisting arrest." The boss of the national police is feuding with the junta—an indication of dissension in the right-wing ranks. Meanwhile, there are disturbing reports that pro-Communists have gained strength in the university and among the peasants.

In other words, the danger of a little Trujillo or a little Castro taking over in the Dominican Republic is greater than ever.

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Where do most people get their news?

From newspapers ☐
From magazines ☐
From radio ☐
From television ☐

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*OTHER RESULTS: RADIO, 29%; MAGAZINES, 6%. TOTAL EXCEEDS 100% BECAUSE SOME PEOPLE NAMED MORE THAN ONE MEDIUM.

Some regularly scheduled programs of news and newsmakers

Monday to Friday: Today/Mike Wallace/ Edwin Newman/Harry Reasoner/ Ray Scherer/Floyd Kalber/Lisa Howard/ Douglas Edwards/Sander Vanocur/ Ron Cochran/Walter Cronkite/ Huntley-Brinkley/Bob Young

Wednesdays: CBS Reports

Thursdays: ABC News Reports

Saturdays: Robert Trout/Sander Vanocur

Sundays: Face the Nation/Issues and Answers/Sunday/One of a Kind/ Science All-Stars/The Twentieth Century/ Meet the Press/Harry Reasoner

* * *

Other television programs of special interest

Discovery in Moscow
Life in USSR as seen by children. (Pt. II)
Sunday, March 1 (1-1:30 PM)

The Ethics of Anti-Communism
A lecture by George F. Kennan
Sunday, March 1 (4-5 PM)

Britain: The Changing Guard
The "Establishment" in transition.
Sunday, March 1 (10-11 PM)

Our Man in Washington
David Brinkley behind the scenes.
Tuesday, March 3 (10-11 PM)

No Room for Kings
Fremont and Sutter in early California.
Friday, March 6 (7:30-8:30 PM)

New Hampshire Primary Returns
Tuesday evening, March 10

Jazz in the Concert Hall
Leonard Bernstein and the N.Y. Philharmonic.
Wednesday, March 11 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Synagogues Old and New
An architectural survey.
Sunday, March 15 (2-2:30 PM)

John L. Lewis
Biography in film.
Sunday, March 15 (6-6:30 PM)

Little Moon of Alban
Julie Harris and Dirk Bogarde in a new production of the James Costigan play.
Wednesday, March 18 (7:30-9 PM)

The St. Matthew Passion
The Bach oratorio, in English.
Sunday, March 22 (1-4 PM)

Visit with Ben Shahn
The religious spirit in contemporary art.
Sunday, March 22 (2-2:30 PM)

I Love You—Whatever That Means
Shakespeare and Shaw on love.
Wednesday, March 25 (7:30-8 PM)

Revelations
An Easter oratorio by Earl Wild.
Sunday, March 29 (2-3 PM)

The Saga of Western Man: 1964
Sunday, March 29 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Breakthrough: Shape of the Medical Future
New developments in medicine.
Sunday, March 29 (10-11 PM)

NOTE: Times (EST), programs, titles, and casts are subject to change. Please consult local listings.

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MAX ASCOLI

What's de Gaulle Up To?

They keep on coming, these lurid anti-American outbursts from improbable countries all over the world to which we have brought no conceivable harm. A combination of dark forces seems to be bearing heavily on our nation: "Yankee go home" finds an echo in those among us who feel we should concentrate all our attention on things domestic. It is, to say the least, singularly unfortunate that this outpouring of meanness should hit us now—now when we have a new President whom a great tragedy put into office just in time to be an overburdened Chief Executive and a harassed Presidential candidate. At this stage of the campaign, every President who wants to stay in power must dedicate a large part of his energies to cultivating the electorate. John F. Kennedy was killed while campaigning in Texas.

The compassion of all the peoples of the earth sustained us in our grief. It was of course a tribute to John F. Kennedy; but it was also, or so we felt, a tribute to our nation—a nation that is great and powerful and that, on the whole, has done rather well for itself and for the world. Will we ever forget that funeral? Marching behind the caisson, standing at attention at the grave, was Charles de Gaulle, a man who had no particular attachment to Kennedy or to our country. Yet he was the first to come, and it was as if there were no other foreign leader present.

Now we are back to normal. Once again de Gaulle is showing superb skill at aggravating his American detractors, of whom he has a superabundance, and at embarrassing his American friends, of whom he has few. Over and over again, ever since he emerged as France's conscience, the expectations of failure for him and for his nation have been proved wrong, while all through the fluctuations of fortune he has been reaching new heights in the art of being haughtily right. Since the time when pragmatic realism led Roosevelt to believe that there was no France, his relations with our country have been a sorry story. De Gaulle, a professional military man, found it incomprehensible that American generals should be given decisive authority in political matters on the grounds that winning the war came first and everything else could be taken care of later at the conference table.

It is probably fair to say that never through the years has he been able to quite make up his mind about the policies of our nation. Sometimes they just do not make sense to him; at other times, he sees sinister motives behind them. In his opinion, the greatest military power on earth lets its diplomacy be paralyzed by the magnitude of its means of destruction. When our strategy seems to be one of total reliance on absolute weapons that we prayerfully hope never to use, then de Gaulle thinks the day is bound to come when we will make an exclusive deal with the other power that is endowed with similar weapons and presumably is also inclined to abstain from using them. When our government proclaims its reliance on its more or less conventional armory for patching-up operations in weak spots where the adversary may choose to test us, then the best we can hope for is a stalemate. In either case he sees us relying on military means, with no room for diplomacy and infinite opportunities offered to blackmailers and troublemakers, big, medium, or small.

This voluble strategy of ours irks the soldier-statesman: our weapons are overcredible, and our diplomacy at best unfathomable. Within a rather short span of time he has seen us move from intolerance of neutralism to the pampering of seedy neutralist leaders à la Sukarno or Nkrumah. Constant gyrations resulting in immobilism are familiar to this uncompromising critic of the Third and of the Fourth Republic.

De Gaulle is not a man to waste time asking himself what in heaven's name our nation wants or is. As for his own nation, his answer was already in the making before he returned to power. It is, of course, the *force de frappe*, which he considers as the indispensable basis for France's independence within the Atlantic Community. It is only token nuclear destructiveness. At the same time, it is real enough to be far more than a symbol. It is not something bought secondhand, or on the installment plan with the danger that the creditor may show up any moment and take it back. It is France's

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own and it is adequate to France's needs—singularly in line with the frugal realism of a nation that has never quite abandoned the tradition of the *bas de laine*. One must add that the value of this awesome little thing, designed to be treasured but not spent, has been greatly increased by our maniacal inclination to decry it, snub it, and consider it in purely military terms.

For de Gaulle the *force de frappe* has been the tool he needed most as the leverage for his diplomacy—a diplomacy of movement, initiative, and risk-taking, designed to compensate for the sluggishness and the fearsome ambivalence of our own. Until recently, he has proclaimed his diplomacy in his own inimitable style of oracular brusqueness and lapidarian truth-telling. Last year he barred Britain's entrance into the Common Market and European Union-to-be, for, he said, were this to happen the growth of the Common Market would be slowed down and European unity diluted. The horrified reaction to this sensible argument has not yet come to an end.

In his latest press conference, de Gaulle's diplomacy went much further. In fact too far: but for some reason our country seems to have taken the whole thing with stolid equanimity. By coming out in favor of the neutralization of an unspecified number of Asian countries, he has not just committed France. The risks of his action fall on the whole West, and particularly on the United States. If, to start with, South Vietnam is to be neutralized, who will guarantee that neutrality? Certainly not the Vietnamese, who cannot imaginably be compared to the Swiss or to the Finns. At the very best, we could have a "truly neutral and independent" South Vietnam like Laos, and just about as peaceful as Laos. In Laos what we have neutralized has been ourselves. Should we do the same for all the Asian countries de Gaulle referred to, naming some and ending his list with an etcetera—countries whose independence from China we are supposed to guarantee or defend? Should we let China take over South Korea and all the rest of non-Communist Asia, Formosa included, and be reconciled to the Communist conquest by calling it neutralization—*our* neutralization? True, the issue of the recognition of China since the Red conquest of the mainland has grown out of all sane proportion. Democratic and Republican administrations alike are equally responsible for having let it fester. We even had to accept the fiction of the Chinese volunteers in Korea, for our government could not bear the thought of being at war and negotiating an armistice with China.

France can now recognize Mao's China and regain the time and the trade opportunities wasted through the niceties of no diplomatic intercourse. France can avoid setting the pattern of a two-China policy. We cannot. The Formosa government that pretends to be China could make peace with Peking and bring the Formosans to Mao, but our obligation is not just to the legal fiction of the Republic of China, now housed in Taipei. Our obligation is to the Formosans. A few years ago, the function of neutralizing Formosa and letting the people of Formosa decide their own destiny could have been entrusted to the United Nations. Now, the coming entrance of China into that organization will make it even more chaotic than it is. It is de Gaulle's recognition that paves the way for the admission of China into what he has repeatedly defined as an "assemblage of nations that call themselves united."

Yet it is not to be excluded that de Gaulle may have rendered us a service by the example he has set. Some day or other we shall have to recognize Mao's China. Recognition, as de Gaulle himself has said, does not imply moral approval, as we well know, having recognized Stalin's Russia. It is also possible that China will be induced to neutralize itself in some of the non-Communist Asian countries, in the same way and to the same degree that we may neutralize ourselves. But to turn these possibilities into realities, we might have to offer China a taste of war. The talk about our being a paper tiger has been going on for too long. The people of "that country whose civilization is older than history" have never been known to be stupid. Is there any other treatment than to let them feel our muscle to make them recognize us and join with us in meaningful international obligations? Can de Gaulle, through his diplomatic ties with Peking, suggest any other way? Perhaps his neutralization proposals were based on the knowledge that our Seventh Fleet is in the Pacific.

Still, it is not easy to understand his neutralization program for Southeast Asia, considering how he loathes any similar prospect for Western Europe. It is as if de Gaulle had now dedicated his energies to bear out the most venomous indictment made by the American detractors of the *force de frappe* and the diplomacy based on it: that he is good at starting what America has to finish. His recognition of China has strengthened one of the two wings of the Communist movement, which is rent by rivalry as to which of the two can hurt the West the more. Does he want to bring our country closer to Khrushchev's Russia?

THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS, the reckless talk and reckless actions, that have been poisoning the relations between our country and de Gaulle's France have gone much too far. The matter has reached such urgency that not even the consideration of our coming election should prevent President Johnson from taking the initiative. Charles de Gaulle cannot possibly become the rallying point of anti-Americanism. President Johnson and de Gaulle ought to meet face to face, and it cannot be too soon. Their talks will not be easy. They are different kinds of men, both of them tough. They share the major burden of the West, and this insane Franco-American rivalry must be brought to an end.

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France: A Third Force?

EDMOND TAYLOR

PARIS

GENERAL DE GAULLE has recently strengthened the main anti-Communist, anti-Popular Front wing of the Left opposition here just when it most needed strengthening. This achievement was strikingly underscored by the outcome of a special national congress of the French Socialist Party.

The congress, which opened February 1, the day after de Gaulle's press conference announcing French recognition of Communist China, was the nearest thing France has yet seen to an American primary convention. Its avowed purpose was to decide whether the party should endorse the unorthodox "candidacy for the candidacy"—as the Socialist national secretary, Guy Mollet, put it—of Gaston Defferre, the popular Socialist mayor of Marseilles. Earlier, Defferre had announced his intention to run against de Gaulle without waiting for his party's approval. There was never much doubt about what the formal decision would be; the real issue was whether Mollet would succeed in bringing the congress to impose conditions on the candidate that would make him in effect the prisoner of the party machine, controlled by Mollet, and ultimately of the Popular Front with the Communists toward which Mollet has been steering.

WHEN Defferre spoke before his party comrades, he seemed very sure of himself. He would withdraw his candidacy if disavowed by his brother Socialists, he said, but he would not agree to run as the Socialist candidate. He would win or lose under the banner of Horizon '80, his version of the New Frontier. He would make no deals with the Communists; he would not let his hands be tied by any doctrinaire program.

While Defferre criticized the methods of "so-called direct democracy" practiced by the present incumbent of the Elysée, he made it clear that if elected he would respect the basic framework of the Gaullist constitution as adopted by the country in 1958 and then amended, to establish direct election of the president, in 1962. He was considerably vaguer than he had been earlier about the need for minor constitutional reform to limit the presidential powers. In fact, he sounded almost as authoritarian as de Gaulle in his determination to uphold the essential presidential prerogatives. He firmly rejected the key demand of the Popular Front advocates for an unqualified condemnation of the French independent nuclear deterrent—his personal preference is for a European one, but he indicated serious doubts as

to its feasibility. At the close of the session he ostentatiously refrained from joining in the anachronistic Socialist rite of singing "The Internationale."

Despite vicious back-room attacks on him as a crypto-Gaullist or just plain Gaullist, Defferre finally won from the congress a unanimous resolution approving his candidacy. Important in itself, Defferre's success is even more encouraging as a symptom of an underlying national consensus. De Gaulle was justified in boasting at his press conference that after the bitter dissensions of recent years the French nation was finally "at peace with itself." Prominent among the factors that have rallied opinion behind major Gaullist policies are the general's tough, ultimately successful stand at Brussels on the issue of opening the European Common Market to French farm produce, and his recognition of China in spectacular defiance of the policy the United States has sought to impose on its allies.

China and French Opinion

De Gaulle's China policy, along with his European policy and his quasi-monarchical fashion of governing the nation, does not escape criticism here. But as the public reaction to his last press conference demonstrated, reservations about de Gaulle's leadership are widely entertained but weakly felt; violent disapproval seems confined to an irreducible core of extremists on the Right and the Left.

"De Gaulle's comments on the role of the president in relation to parliament and to the premier constitute the most shocking apology for absolutism I have ever heard," a left-wing friend said to me a few days after the conference, which he had followed on television. Having thus got his sense of shock on the record in a little under ten seconds, he lectured me for the next half hour on how admirably the general had understood the deep longing of the French masses for real national independence and their belief that only a neutralist policy could restore peace in Southeast Asia.

Right-wing acquaintances had different objections but seemed to give them no more weight. Some deplored de Gaulle's nationalistic approach to the problem of building Europe, but they were obviously filled with pride at France's resurgence as a presence, if not a power, in Asia ten years after Dienbienphu. Others, regardless of political orientation, regretted that de Gaulle had found it necessary to wound American sentiment so deeply. The few who did disapprove of his China and Asia policies were so impressed by the elegant style in which he had expressed them, particularly in his *belle page d'anthologie* on China, that it was

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hard to take their disapproval seriously. *"Très homme d'état"* was a particularly frequent appreciation, applying both to the substance of de Gaulle's statements and to the manner of their delivery.

Though de Gaulle's press conference revealed him at peak intellectual and physical form, it was less statesmanlike than several of his previous appearances. True, it was nobly free from pettiness or rancor, almost without trace of that delusion of infallibility which has undone so many great captains of the past. But for once his words lacked the deep feeling for human values and what might be termed the sense of moral history that marks his utterances when he is at his best. The *realpolitik* inspiring the China policy showed through a little too nakedly. The influence of de Gaulle's harsher masters or models—Machiavelli, Richelieu, Bismarck, Charles Maurras—seemed too preponderant. Moreover, the evident element of risk in the China policy and the proposals for neutralizing Southeast Asia seemed more suggestive of a gambler's move than of the prudent statesmanship de Gaulle has usually displayed.

The Memory of Yalta

Probably the greatest single factor underlying de Gaulle's psychological success is his ability to exploit the present almost world-wide questioning of American leadership, and the resentments aroused by the methods with which we frequently seek to impose our leadership upon reluctant allies or neutrals. As the greatest world power and the necessary protector of many lesser powers, we could hardly fail to irritate some national susceptibilities even if our diplomacy were always sound and adroit. Ever since the Suez affair in 1956, there has been a growing feeling among many of our allies that we do fail to give proper heed to their counsels or take adequate account of their national interests.

This European dissatisfaction with American leadership has been sharpened by Europe's increasing strength and self-confidence. "The United States," says the Radical Socialist leader Maurice Faure, one of our most faithful friends in France, "must learn to draw the necessary conclusions from the recovery of the European nations and give up unilaterally imposing its own policies on them after usually perfunctory consultation." Faure voiced qualified approval of de Gaulle's decision to recognize the Peking régime.

Defferre critized the methods of Gaullist foreign policy but explicitly endorsed its broad objectives: "We should say to them [the U.S.] cordially but firmly," he declared, " 'You want to lower tariff barriers, extend the Common Market to the Atlantic Community; agreed. But we are not ready yet. Give us time to create Europe, to develop an economy and to build up enterprises on the same scale as your own.' And we should not even hesitate to tell them, 'We don't want to run the risk of being colonized by you; it's neither in your interest nor in ours.' "

Defferre is by no means the only non-Gaullist Frenchman (if he is non-Gaullist), or for that matter European, whose doubts about U.S. leadership have been intensified by the New Frontier policy of opposing the tightly knit six-power Europe that we once favored, and of seeking instead, as Raymond Cartier charges in a recent issue of *Match* magazine, to re-Balkanize Europe. There has also been widespread concern over our Soviet policy. The effort to reduce international tensions by negotiating with the Soviet Union, thus lessening the risk of nuclear war, is widely approved. But when the suspicion grows—as it has grown—that we are negotiating behind the backs of our allies, the approval diminishes.

The Gaullist bugbear of a new Yalta worries many Europeans who do not necessarily agree with de Gaulle's tactics for averting the danger. And Europeans revolt when they see the leader of the free world pursuing an almost neutralist policy in Central or Eastern Europe, thereby allowing its strongest adversary to consolidate his shakiest positions, while focusing its own militant energies upon containing the weaker adversary in Asia. Naturally, the opposite strategy proposed by de Gaulle wins some sympathy, even among those who recognize the enormous risks inherent in it.

Five years ago de Gaulle himself held a position on the issue seemingly not greatly different from Washington's present one. In his press conference of November, 1959, already foreseeing the Sino-Soviet split, he urged Russia to take its historic place in the ranks of the Occident in view of the long-term menace from "China's yellow multitudes," who, he warned, were laying the foundations of power while "eyeing the surrounding spaces they will one day have to spill out to fill." Admirers of his statesmanship feel that the implicit contradiction between this view and his present policies in Asia is more nominal than substantive. Russia, they point out, is still a long way from aligning itself with the Occident, and China is now too strong to be successfully contained without Soviet help. It is better, therefore, to abandon containment and instead exploit the split between the two Communist powers.

In his press conference, de Gaulle simultaneously played on Russian concern over that "longest frontier" from Vladivostok to the Hindu Kush and on Asian resentment at earlier Soviet hopes of "keeping China under its [Russia's] sway and through her dominating Asia." De Gaulle also took pains, while flattering the national pride of the present rulers of the "state older than history," to warn his listeners in less developed lands what ruthless dictatorship had cost the Chinese people in terms of human suffering. He encouraged the jealous passion for national independence which is particularly strong in submerged or recently emerging nations by setting them an example. "By promoting the cause of nations," explains the semi-official Gaullist organ *La Nation*, "one splits up the imperialisms."

It is not altogether clear whether in the Gaullist view a defensive coalition of nations like NATO, led by its strongest member, is an "imperialism," but by ostentatiously asserting France's independence of its senior ally, the Gaullists believe they are fostering a similar thirst for independence among all the satellites of the two Communist imperialisms. They even believe that the Gaullist brand of nationalism

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will prove an effective antidote to the poisons of both Chinese and Soviet subversion in the undeveloped countries.

Sound or fallacious, this politico-ideological strategy, which de Gaulle unveiled more fully than ever before at his press conference, has a certain grandiose sweep—one of the elements of his statesmanship—that both fascinates and disturbs Europeans. But it is clear that this strategy also implies an almost permanent opposition to American policy in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. ««

Vietnam: The Awful Choice

DENIS WARNER

SAIGON

GENERAL NGUYEN KHANH has the air of a hard-working, intelligent man in a great hurry to get where he is going. Vietnamese soldiers, who are not noted for their discipline, snap to attention when the new premier passes. Whatever his motives may have been in late January, when he overthrew those whom he himself had helped overthrow Ngo Dinh Diem in November, he is clearly aware of the risks and of the necessity now to guard his own flanks against another lightning coup. And he reveals an acute understanding of the fact that victory in the war against the Vietcong will never be won by military means alone but depends primarily on the success of the government's efforts to meet the social and economic needs of the peasants.

These are positive factors in the new situation in South Vietnam, where unified leadership is the most desperate need. Yet in both the political and military fields, Khanh's coup and the circumstances that occasioned it add grave new complications to the U.S. policy dilemma.

By the assassination of President Diem last November, the coup leaders sowed a harvest of lawlessness that South Vietnam may have only just begun to reap. To have compelled Diem to abdicate might have opened the way for constitutional changes and reforms. But the moment orders were given for the assassination, constitutional methods were forgotten and jungle law prevailed. That Khanh again chose extralegal methods to come to the top has made it all the more difficult, despite his own ability and dynamism, to capture the imagination of the Vietnamese people and to convey his own sense of the urgent need for national unity. Many of the same people who had regarded the removal of the Ngo family as a dramatic step forward looked on Khanh's coup as a lamentable step backward.

ALTHOUGH General Quong Van Minh, the leader of the first coup, agreed reluctantly to stay on as head of state, he did nothing to correct the impression that he was a figurehead retained to give some semblance of continuity to the new changes made at pistol point. His appearance with Khanh at the Xa Loi pagoda during a fair in aid of lepers and at a ceremony to release Binh Xuyen prisoners jailed a decade ago by Diem fooled no one. Even on the steps of the Presidency, where he stood in unpressed trousers, a silk scarf knotted at his neck, to listen to Khanh announce the formation of the new government, he seemed bored. Khanh, in his trim jungle greens, was obviously the boss.

Political doubts about the new régime crystallized when Khanh tried to form a government under civilian leadership. "Why should I run the risk of spending three months in office only to spend the next three years in jail?" asked one potential candidate. "I don't mind working for the government as a civil servant, but I don't want any part of policymaking in this military régime," said another.

In response to a request from Khanh, Dr. Nguyen Ton Hoan, who had fled the country nine years ago after setting up his own anti-Diem *maquis* near the North Vietnamese border, returned from Paris to form a government—and failed. Hoan ran headlong into problems that plague the political scene here. Buddhists who had been granted sanctuary in the United States embassy took the lead of a neutralist anti-American faction united for protection against Hoan, a Catholic. Hoan's own followers split into four bickering groups, and Khanh finally had to become premier himself.

This may result in more things being done more quickly, but it is not calculated to enhance Khanh's public image and there are many ingredients for future trouble. In fact, Saigon's rumor mills are already grinding out speculations about the next coup and who may lead it.

The new fifty-three-member military junta has its full share of ambitious men. One is General Tran Thien Khiem, now defense minister, whose troops played a principal part in protecting Diem from the abortive coup in 1960, then in deposing Diem last November, and finally in Khanh's January 30 operation. General Duong Van Duc, the former ambassador to Korea, who has been living in self-imposed exile in Europe, is another man to watch. Duc is credited with having shot Major Nhung, Diem's assassin. And it was at his orders that Premier Nguyen Nguc Tho was roughly handled and even tied up during the January coup. Duc is both tough and ambitious.

In another category, but potentially no less dangerous to the future of the régime, are the new junta's four Dai Viet generals, who command a political following of about fifty colonels and majors. "If Khanh fails to restore unity within the armed forces, nothing is more certain than that he will be overthrown," said a Vietnamese publisher. "Yet if Khanh loses, we are all lost," said a senior civil servant. "We've had all the coups we can afford."

Positive Thinking

Given Khanh's organizing ability and a situation in the countryside even remotely similar to that described by the American military command, the thirty-seven-year-old general's chances of pulling himself and South Vietnam through might

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be rated as fairly good. But unfortunately, it is difficult to disagree with the senior American official here who told me that General Paul Harkins, by his contrived and specious optimism, has completely misled himself and the Pentagon about the state of the war.

The Mekong Delta is in about as sorry a condition as the Red River Delta in Tonkin was back in 1953. Every new reverse along the Mekong will diminish Khanh's authority in Saigon and stimulate a crisis reaction for further precipitate change. It would be unfair to suggest that Harkins deliberately deceived Secretary McNamara and General Maxwell Taylor. He was the victim of his own determination always to be positive, never negative. He was followed loyally by many of his officers, though far from all of them. While the situation in the delta, with its eight to nine million inhabitants, was steadily going from bad to worse, Harkins continued to report improvements, basing his optimism on such yardsticks as the ratio of weapons captured to weapons lost, casualty rates, and the numbers of strategic hamlets built. "We were winning the war by awarding ourselves Brownie points," said one skeptical officer. "We counted factors that had no real bearing on the outcome of this sort of war and neglected those with which we should have been urgently concerned." What really mattered was not how much wire had been placed around how many hamlets, but who really controlled the people.

The argument that the Vietnamese lied to Diem because he wanted only good news and so deceived the Americans is a shabby excuse. Nor is it true that the situation changed drastically for the worse because of the November coup. The rot had set in long before Diem died. The result is that in the flat, hot, wet, populous and all-important delta region, there are two rival administrations. And the more significant by far is that of the Communist Vietcong.

IN THE closing weeks of 1963, three seven-man teams of Vietnamese employees from the United States Information Service dressed themselves in black pajamas and other peasant garb and set off to report on political, military, and social conditions in Long An Province. Their report, although limited to the environs of Tan An, the provincial capital, reveals starkly just how far the situation has deteriorated, not in remote Camau, where the Vietcong have long exercised all but complete authority, but right in the outskirts of Saigon, about as far from the capital as the Bronx is from the Empire State Building.

The report shows that Long An has in effect become a Vietcong province. Village councils within gunshot sound of the provincial capital have ceased to function. Families forced to relocate without compensation within the perimeter of the strategic hamlets have packed their belongings and fled. Neglected by government officials—but sometimes robbed by government troops—lacking real security, medical care, and schooling, these peasants and millions of others like them have had no alternative but to accept Vietcong rule, however much they may dislike the choice.

AS A MILITARY FORCE, the Vietcong are handicapped today only by shortages in ammunition. Recruits are no problem. They lost 1,463 killed and captured in January, but their regular armed forces continue to increase by an estimated five hundred a month. The official American military estimate is that the Vietcong have a strength of 20,000 to 21,000 regulars. But the classified figure is 40,000 plus. The Vietcong greeted Khanh's new government with a series of bold attacks in strength. In one offensive, a regular battalion reinforced by a regional company invited the Vietnamese Army Air Force to come out and fight. They were driven out of their foxholes in a strategic-hamlet moat at the end of the day's fighting, but not before they had trapped Vietnamese forces into using napalm against the villagers and had made a heavy score in killed and captured troops. The war is not being won more slowly these days; it is being lost faster than ever before.

The formidable task facing Khanh and the United States is to abandon the wasted efforts of the past two years, the thousands of ill-conceived strategic hamlets that Ngo Dinh Nhu created without thought for the real security and welfare of their inhabitants, and to start all over again in more or less secure areas and work out through disputed zones into Communist territory, to clear the main base around Saigon and then to push deeper into the Mekong Delta.

It is a heartbreaking prospect. Given the uncertainties of the political situation, it may be impossible. But the only alternative is to accept defeat.

Risks on Every Side

To negotiate with the Vietcong now would be to negotiate from the brink of disaster, just as the French negotiated at Geneva a decade ago. To pretend that anything remotely resembling a neutralized settlement can be achieved by negotiation at this stage is as unrealistic as General Harkins's publicly and privately expressed views that the war can be won this year. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge is said to take a very different view. He talks of victory after ten years or even longer. But after a quarter of a century of war, the Vietnamese people are tired of destruction and bloodshed. All of them want peace, and many want peace at any price.

To expect an all-out war effort from Nguyen Khanh's somewhat shaky government without an equally dramatic American effort is also unrealistic. The young Americans in the field have taught well and widely. They have proved themselves an elite of unprecedented quality and dedication—characteristics in marked contrast to the bumbling, myopic inefficiency of headquarters in Saigon. Last year's reshuffles changed the American diplomatic and CIA leadership but left the crucially important military command untouched. A change there too is overdue, to say the least.

Yet no new American effort, however dynamic and dedicated, can have any hope of success without a firm assurance of stability at the top Vietnamese political and military levels. There must be a moratorium on coups, an end to young soldiers' dreams of using their guns to win personal power. Many feel that a joint American-Vietnamese com-

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mand system, with Ambassador Lodge sharing full over-all responsibility with Nguyen Khanh and an interlocking command system at all levels, is the only feasible way of ending the debilitating struggle for power and of forcing decisions for the efforts that must be made if the Communists are to be denied the victory that seems already to be within their grasp.

This would obviously run the risk of escalation. It would raise the cry of colonialism. The consequences, in short, would be grave. Would these consequences be more serious than defeat—with all that would do to strengthen Communist China's hand in launching further "wars of national liberation" in undeveloped countries and in its bitter ideological dispute with the Soviet Union? This is the dilemma the United States faces today. «»

Panama: Distrust and Delay

DONALD A. ALLAN and GEORGE SHERMAN

THE VIOLENCE and nationalist hostility in Panama that confronted President Johnson with his first foreign-policy crisis seemed to blow up out of the blue, like a tropical hurricane. Certainly it found the administration unprepared; there had been no U.S. ambassador in Panama since August. Almost before we knew what had hit us, the whole fabric of political links guarding the Panama Canal was threatened, our diplomats were accused of duplicity in an absurd wrangle over semantics, and the United States was charged with aggression before the Council of the Organization of American States. The entire inter-American system was put under a severe strain.

The patient and strenuous efforts of the Inter-American Peace Committee to mediate the dispute only succeeded in laying bare the basic distrust between Panama and the United States. The five OAS ambassadors on the committee from Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic were reportedly astonished at the degree of this distrust. Yet there had been ample warning for Washington that trouble in Panama was smoldering and, in a Panamanian election year, could burst into flame at any moment.

As early as 1958, Milton Eisenhower's report on our relations with Central America singled out the Panamanian situation as needing immediate action if a serious crisis were to be averted. Every year since then has seen the pressure mount for a revision of the 1903 Panama Canal Treaty and for negotiation of a host of related issues. In June, 1962, President Roberto Chiari brought the dangerous drift of policy to the attention of President Kennedy, who agreed to take steps to remedy the situation, even contemplating a treaty revision. But officials in Washington and in the Canal Zone temporized, with the result that Panamanian authorities and the local public increasingly distrusted U.S. intentions. While numerous U.S. public figures and commentators had repeatedly conceded the inevitability and desirability of bringing the treaty up to date, nothing basic—with the exception of an increase in the payments to Panama under the Eisenhower administration in 1955—ever seemed to get done.

DISTRUST on the part of the United States was equally profound: Washington clearly saw how the Panamanian oligarchs, who make money out of the canal, relied on the Canal Zone issue as a safety valve for the populace's grumblings, or as leverage for their political ambitions. After the riots on January 9-10, U.S. officials were reluctant to enter into negotiations under circumstances that would encourage the Panamanians to ask for full control over the canal and, if we refused it, either to abrogate the Treaty of 1903 or further inflame the local public by accusing us of negotiating in bad faith. We had not negotiated peacefully when we had a chance; now we refused to negotiate "under the gun."

This was the situation confronting the OAS Peace Committee ambassadors when they sat down immediately after the riots with the Panamanian foreign minister, Galileo Solís, and U.S. negotiator Edwin Martin in Panama City.

All of these unfortunate attitudes came swiftly to the fore during the crisis itself: radio stations working with the Panamanian government, which should have been urging calm, exhorted the people to join the demonstrations; a tattered Panamanian flag was brought *into* the Canal Zone and later brought out in shreds and displayed as an act of Yankee desecration. In the U.S. press there was the automatic charge that Castro and the Communists were at the bottom of the trouble, and the equally expectable argument that we should resist Panama's demands, even if or where justified, or lose face and invite trouble elsewhere in the hemisphere. But what seemed the height of contrived ambiguity came on January 15 in Panama when, after all-night negotiations with the Peace Committee, Solís and Martin agreed on the wording of the English and Spanish texts describing what was to follow the reestablishment of diplomatic relations.

The Semantics Dance

In the English text the two parties agreed to "formal discussions" of all matters outstanding between them. In the Spanish text they agreed to *"negociaciones formales."* No specific reference was made to the canal or the treaty. Martin cleared the language in both texts with Washington by telephoning directly to Thomas Mann, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Mann cleared the wording with President Johnson himself.

Subsequently Washington officials maintained that they thought they were dealing with the English-language text, that the problem was how to translate "discussion" into Spanish, and that the minutes of the meeting make it clear that the United States never went beyond agreeing to "discuss" issues relating to the Panama Canal. These minutes have never been made public, but participants in the talks say that the

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talks were all in Spanish, with Martin working through an interpreter, and that the problem was always how to translate "*negociaciones*" into English from the Spanish text. They insist that the United States did in fact agree to more than "discussion" of the canal treaty.

It is possible that the semantic wrangle was simply a diplomatic misunderstanding over translation. But it is probable that both governments agreed to make a naïve gamble on using separate wordings that would appeal most to their own publics. If so, the cat was soon out of the bag. That same day President Chiari said in a radio broadcast that the United States had accepted his demand to renegotiate the canal treaty. Meanwhile, in Washington, State Department spokesman Richard I. Phillips admitted that there *was* a difference between "negotiate" and "discuss," and that the United States had not agreed to renegotiate the treaty at all. Chiari immediately responded by repudiating the agreement.

After this debacle, it took a week to get serious talks going again, this time in Washington with the respective OAS ambassadors, Miguel Moreno and Ellsworth Bunker, meeting with the Peace Committee. President Johnson moved to clear the atmosphere and make the U.S. position more flexible. He issued a statement of our willingness to have a "full and frank review and reconsideration" of all matters outstanding, without limitation. After three more days of word-wrestling, Bunker agreed that the United States would "review and reconsider all matters arising from the existence of the Panama Canal and treaties and agreements related thereto"—the first time the canal was mentioned by name.

The game of semantics continued. The administration would not go all the way and promise in so many words to renegotiate the agreement, although both sides now were clearly thinking in terms of a new treaty. The administration was reluctant to create an international precedent and risk the wrath of Congress by seeming to agree to a new treaty in advance and under pressure. Furthermore, there was another 1903 "perpetuity" treaty—Guantánamo—to be thought of. The Panamanians, by now captives of the public expectation they had aroused, could not accept private U.S. assurances and public hints without seeming to back down on their demands for a firm pledge of renegotiation as the price of resuming diplomatic relations and talks. There was, moreover, a strong suspicion that both President Chiari and Ambassador Moreno, who is also a candidate for president in the May 10 elections, wanted to keep the issue hot for home consumption as long as possible.

Dragging In Rio

At this point Panama insisted on invoking the 1947 Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. The treaty is essentially a punitive mechanism: it presupposes a clear case of aggression or threat to the peace of the Americas and outlines collective action against the aggressor—from breaking diplomatic relations to economic sanctions to armed intervention. Chilean Ambassador Manuel Trucco (who alone voted against invoking the pact) reflected U.S. misgivings when he said the facts did not warrant use of the Rio Treaty and that a dangerous precedent might be created for future disputes in the hemisphere.

But the United States and the majority of Latin American members went along for a variety of reasons—some lofty, some petty. First of all, Panama privately threatened to leave the OAS and take the dispute to the United Nations if the Rio pact were not invoked. This would give the Communist bloc a propaganda field day which the United States could ill afford. Second, Latin-American governments were under intense pressure from their nationalist public opinion to side with "little" Panama.

Most important, however, invoking the treaty had become an end in itself for Panama, and all sides informally agreed that it could be manipulated to get the explosive dispute back to the conference table. To get the affirmative vote, Panama made substantial concessions. All references to charges of aggression against the United States were dropped from the final resolution. In addition, it was agreed that an OAS ambassadorial committee should both investigate what happened along the zonal borders on January 9-10 and mediate the continuing dispute. Neither of these procedures is explicitly provided for in the Rio Treaty.

When the discussions do get back on the track, the United States will have a chance to get at the heart of the question—the issue that has been bothering Panama far more profoundly than such matters as flag-flying and payments. This is the increasing inadequacy of the present canal and the proposals for constructing a new sea-level channel by atomic blasting. Five sites—two of them in Panama, one each in Mexico, Nicaragua, and Colombia—have been analyzed by the Atomic Energy Commission. Naturally, Panama is anxious that such a "natural resource" be exclusively its own. In recent weeks, Washington officials have been reminding reporters of the sea-level canal project and the alternative routes. Washington is thus able to use a "carrot and stick" tactic in approaching the next round of negotiations.

Coupling negotiations for the new canal—which might be internationalized from the beginning—with a revision of the 1903 treaty to give Panama step-by-step control over the old canal by the time the new one was built would face the real issue at stake. A sea-level canal would not have complicated locks that are militarily vulnerable. It would not require the colony of American "Zonians" that has caused much of the friction. For these reasons, a sea-level canal would not have to be under American administration. The United States could extricate itself from political involvement without losing any of the military and economic advantages of the canal, while Panama would have what it has long wanted: unequivocal sovereignty over the old canal and—no doubt—a satisfactory arrangement with the international administrators of the new one.

This is the opportunity that presents itself to the Johnson administration as the crisis goes into what is hoped will be the cooling-off period leading to new and private talks under OAS auspices.

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AT HOME

The Waiting Game Of William W. Scranton

PAUL DUKE

THE POLITICAL writers, pundits, and broadcasters swarming into Harrisburg to size up Governor William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania resemble a rotating army of occupation. In one recent week, the stock-takers included two television networks, *Life* magazine, the New York *Times,* the Kansas City *Star,* the Hartford *Times,* and the Cleveland *Plain Dealer.* Requests for interviews keep piling up. *Vogue* magazine has asked for one, and so have three London dailies. Even IBM's slick monthly, *Think,* has rushed in its man to chronicle the Scranton story.

The invasion is certainly the most notable manifestation of the governor's improved position in the Republican Presidential sweepstakes. But the size of the press platoons testifies to even more: a spreading conviction that Scranton will be nominated at the Republican convention in San Francisco in July.

Scranton, however, continues to go his stoic way, professing no interest in the nomination and insisting he will do nothing to further his prospects. Speaking invitations inundate his office, but he rejects nearly all. On one typical January day, the governor turned down opportunities to talk to Republican meetings in California, Michigan, and New York, a Junior Chamber of Commerce-sponsored "bosses' night" dinner in Minneapolis, the Chicago World Trade Conference, the Yale Club of Washington, and a group of Idaho college students. Not even a call from Dwight Eisenhower, long one of Scranton's foremost prodders, could coax him into an appearance at a national Young Republican conference in Washington.

Scranton's disdain for customary political form seems genuine. His closest friends say he is not an overly ambitious man, and there is nothing in his patrician past to suggest any consuming desire for a political career. "Bill likes the roar of the crowd but he doesn't need it," an old acquaintance observed.

A Certain Coyness

Still, the governor's cease-and-desist efforts lately have begun to resemble charades. While he spurns most out-of-state invitations, Scranton is accepting a few choice ones—the Cincinnati World Affairs Council, the Detroit Economic Club, etc. —and invariably confers with local Republican officials. Some of the governor's attempts to discourage his promoters are obviously perfunctory and have little effect. In fact, Craig Truax, the Scranton-picked Republican state chairman, spends almost all his time pushing the governor's candidacy.

Certainly Scranton's detachment now is less Olympian than it was several months ago. Appearing on *Meet the Press* in December, 1962, he said, "I have no intention of being a favorite-son candidate." He still insists that this is so, but is now willing to lead the Pennsylvania delegation as a "favorite son"—a distinction that escapes most people. He has gone out of his way in recent weeks to let it be known that he never promised to serve a full four-year term in Harrisburg. He has confided to some Republicans that "No man really can control the events around him," and has expressed dismay at the vacuum of leadership in his party. He even told me recently that his Stevensonian attitude could quickly change under certain conditions—"If I saw our party becoming a white-supremacy party, you'd really see me go charging in."

Indeed, there are signs the governor may be giving destiny some subtle shoves. When the Republican National Committee met in Washington last month, Scranton picked that occasion to dine with the state's Republican delegation in Congress. Scranton willingly put himself on display at two luncheons given in Philadelphia by Thomas B. McCabe, chairman of the Scott Paper Company, ostensibly to introduce Scranton to leading out-of-state industrialists. The more recent luncheon, on January 17, brought together such Republican stalwarts as Neil McElroy, chairman of Procter & Gamble and a Secretary of Defense under Eisenhower, and David Kendall, a Chrysler vice-president and White House counsel under Ike. While conceivably they could have been scouting for business investments, it seems doubtful that this was the lure for certain other guests—Republican National Chairman William Miller; former National Chairmen Meade Alcorn and Leonard W. Hall. The governor reportedly was stunned when he walked into the meeting, yet it is hard to see why. McCabe is the unofficial director of the Scranton-for-President movement and has worked closely with Scranton's staff in getting the governor to the luncheons.

A Positive Negativism

Such portents clearly fit into the Scranton pattern of success. He agreed to run for Congress in 1960 only after all six of the Tenth District's Republican county chairmen had endorsed him. He ran for governor in 1962 only after asking and getting the endorsement of all sixty-seven county chairmen—a considerable achievement in a party racked by fratricidal warfare.

Scranton's reluctance, while a legacy from his past, happens to make good political sense in 1964. Although many Republican professionals are enthusisastic about him, the polls show little ground-swell support among the party's rank and file. Consequently, the governor's aides view the spring primaries with about as much fervor as an infantryman picking his way through a mine field. It is this fear that makes Scranton backers see a trap in Richard Nixon's effusive praise of the governor in recent weeks. They suspect that Nixon is trying to stampede Scranton into a primary or two in the hope he would be killed off—leaving Nixon the likeliest choice for the nomination. By play-

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ing hard to get, the governor is thus following the one course most certain to enhance his prospects as a compromise nominee.

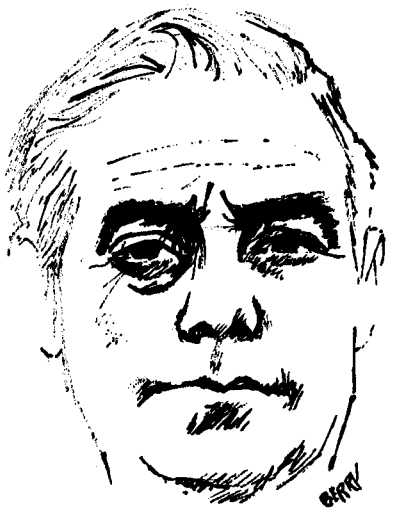
Even if there isn't any grand design behind the governor's self-effacement, his negativism has its positive aspects and in some ways seems to be a perfected technique. "I know some people don't believe it, but being President is not one of my ambitions," Scranton told me in a typical disclaimer. "We're making good progress in putting Pennsylvania back on the map and I'd like to finish the job. I also want to continue revitalizing our party in the state." With such deceptively casual remarks, Scranton conveys an impression that he is a cut above other Presidential aspirants by letting the office seek him, that he is bringing Pennsylvania out of the economic doldrums, and that his Republican credentials, unlike those of Michigan's George Romney, are very much in order. The total effect, wittingly or not, is to make the governor more attractive as a Presidential prospect.

Despite Scranton's aloofness, the press buildup is providing a kind of substitute campaign. The New York *Herald Tribune* and the Washington *Star* already have bestowed their editorial blessing. Scranton aides tirelessly work the night shift with the visiting reporters, extolling their man for hours at the Neptune Bar across from the capitol. Scranton breezes through the ritual of daily interviews and, while new nuggets are rarely produced, his cordiality helps generate favorable stories.

SCRANTON supporters do not frown upon the frequent characterization of their man as a Republican Kennedy. In fact, they deftly encourage the comparison. One aide even remarked that "Lyndon Johnson is out of step with the style and dignity brought to the White House by Kennedy," hinting that Scranton was the man to bring them back.

There are indeed remarkable similarities. There is the same sophisticated confidence, diffident manner, and inbred reserve. Scranton possesses Kennedy's élan for campaigning. ("Together we can move mountains if necessary to get Pennsylvania moving again," the governor told 1962 campaign crowds.) Scranton too, gets along well with politicians but has never been one of the boys. His aides are like Kennedy's—dedicated to the man rather than the party; one, James Reichley, worked briefly for Pennsylvania's liberal Democratic Senator Joseph Clark. More astute observers have noticed that the forty-sixyear-old Scranton wears the same conservative suits and even the same kind of comfortable, straight-tipped brown shoes. Even some of the charges hurled at Yale man Scranton have a familiar ring—he is cold-blooded, lacks passionate convictions, and doesn't have enough experience to be President.

The differences are just as apparent and less superficial. Kennedy's appeal was that of the young man eager to grapple with the problems



of state; Scranton's appeal is his very lack of ambition. Scranton's rather wooden delivery, puckered smile, and languid demeanor are a pale contrast to Kennedy's eloquence, charm, and vitality. And, while Scranton approaches problems in the same pragmatic way that Kennedy did, he does not have the same intellectual grasp or taste for such a wide range of matters.

There is, of course, another and less optimistic view of Scranton. Some critics detect a streak of ruthlessness, pointing to Scranton's actions in squashing a budding Goldwater movement in the state and in harshly condemning labor's opposition to his proposal to tighten Pennsylvania's unemployment-compensation laws. His opponents also recall a "soft-on-Communism" attack on Democrat Richardson Dilworth during the 1962 gubernatorial campaign that Scranton quickly dropped in the wake of a hostile press reaction. And some people feel Scranton sloughs off problems on study groups and goes in for too much gimmickry ("The Committee of 100,000 Pennsylvanians for the Promotion of Economic Growth").

Although he repeatedly said he saw no need for a tax increase while campaigning, one of Scranton's first acts as governor was to recommend tax boosts, and the state sales tax rose from four to five per cent last year. The tax issue also showed Scranton not to be the Horatius of courage that some of his idolators would have the people believe. Although there is a question of the constitutionality of a state income tax, most fiscal experts agree that Pennsylvania has long needed this type of levy, and it would have been worthwhile for Scranton to propose it. The governor heartily endorsed a proposed convention to overhaul the state's crazy-quilt constitution but did not really fight for it, and the plan was narrowly defeated at the polls last November. Some actions of his administration appear senseless, such as the relaxation of Democratic Governor David L. Lawrence's tough traffic safety measures.

An Indefinable Man

Still, much of the criticism of Scranton's record as governor smacks of peevishness. Any accurate appraisal of his accomplishments must be made within the framework of Pennsylvania history and Pennsylvania Republicanism. From both standpoints, he appears to rate above par.

Although Pennsylvania is our third largest state and a perennial power at nominating conventions, it has contributed only one President, James Buchanan; it last provided a major-party candidate in 1880 when Winfield Scott Hancock lost to James A. Garfield. Not only have there been few outstanding governors over the years, but Keystone State politics have been scandal-ridden by a notorious spoils system. Scranton is the first governor in recent times to win legislative approval for putting more employees under civil service. An earnest effort has been made to recruit more Negroes into state service. While the national upsurge is primarily responsible for a

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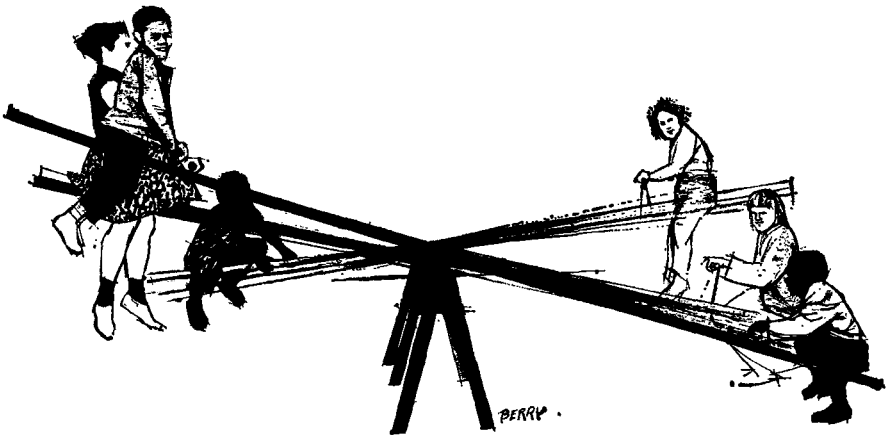
drop in unemployment, Scranton's all-out quest for industry helped. More importantly perhaps, he has revived optimism in the state.

But it is as leader of his party that the Scranton mark is most noticeable. With his progressive pattern, some think the hoary brand of Republicanism so long dominant in Pennsylvania is gone forever. Scranton appointees have generally been able, vigorous men like himself. His aides, headed by the dynamic twenty-seven-year-old William Keisling, are an intelligent, professional crew. Scranton may have compromised too much on some issues, but he has acted with skill in persuading the party's ruling dinosaurs in the legislature to support his program. Lukewarm supporters a year ago are now among the governor's greatest boosters. One consequence has been a further loosening of the party's ancient ties with the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, long the party's whip and master. It is significant that some PMA barons are ignoring the Scranton boom and supporting Goldwater.

Scranton acts so unlike most Republicans that he really can't be defined. While he pays obeisance to the Republican gospel of governmental frugality, he is far from being a doctrinaire conservative. He has heretically praised Kennedy and Johnson for their conduct of the Presidency and on several occasions has criticized his own party for looking backward too much. Unemployment, education, and health care probably would receive diligent attention in a Scranton administration. And surely he would shun Eisenhower's above-the-battle role and energetically work to rebuild his party to majority status.

ALTHOUGH his Pennsylvania triumphs were partly attributable to luck, Scranton's partisans evince no fear of their man's ability to hold his own in a national campaign. When the hour grows late and the bars are down, they sometimes turn on the "when we get to Washington . . ." line. One reporter, roaming about the office of a Scranton assistant, chanced upon what looked like supporting evidence: a collection of Presidential inaugural speeches lying atop a bookcase.



New York's Boycott: What Did It Prove?

THOMAS R. BROOKS

EARLY in the morning of Monday, February 3, in front of the wire-mesh gate and fence that shuts off Junior High School 258 from the surrounding shabby brownstones of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area (sometimes called Brooklyn's Harlem), a lone middle-aged Negro woman stamped her feet against the biting cold. Under her left arm she was holding a half-dozen placards while another, hanging on a string tied around her neck, proclaimed: "Fight Jim Crow—Boycott School—City Wide Committee for Integrated Schools." Four white policemen looked at her with mingled admiration and scorn.

A block and a half away at the Siloam Presbyterian Church, the boycott headquarters staff, eyes rimmed from lack of sleep, slumped at their desks, waiting. Someone mentioned coffee but no one moved. Pickets had been urged to turn up between six and seven in the morning for a briefing; at half past seven only a handful had straggled in to register. The boycott's official leader, the Reverend Milton A. Galamison, a short, dapper man with a mustache whose self-confident manner was to stir criticism among his own allies, left to make the rounds of the early morning picket lines. The boycott's chief strategist, Bayard Rustin, sat staring at the middle distance, his long fingers tapping the edge of his small desk. Under graying hair, the deeply lined brown-mahogany face was for a moment that of a sad and weary man. "We do not like staying up all night, planning such things," he remarked, "nor do we wish to keep Negro children from their education, inadequate as it is."

Within the hour, the picket line outside JHS 258 numbered eight. In the near-empty streets, an occasional Negro youngster came scurrying alongside the block-long wire fence, late to class. (In another part of Brooklyn, the board of education's president, James B. Donovan, stopped on the way to his office to look at a school. He noted with satisfaction, "No pickets, no placards, no marchers . . . a good sign.") Inside JHS 258, a Negro teacher rounded up three youngsters who came in, took a look at the almost empty assembly hall, and decided to leave. "Now you're here, you stay," she scolded. The school principal, a worried young white man, informed a reporter that twenty per cent of the faculty and seventy per cent of the 1,700 student body "are not here." Four blocks away at a year-old grade school, where no pickets showed up at all on that morning of February 3, only ten per cent of the

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1,100 registered students showed up for classes.

Back at Siloam Church, the phones began to ring, the picket captains to report, and Rustin to perk up. By 9:30, Rustin cautiously declared the boycott results "much better than expected, since we had only a week to organize it." By mid-morning Siloam was jammed with excited young pickets fleeing the cold, newsmen, photographers, and TV people, all seeking a word with the boycott leaders. Galamison, James Farmer of CORE, and June Shagaloff and Frederick D. Jones of the NAACP were all holding their own—and at times simultaneous—impromptu press conferences. Everyone competed to have a picture taken with comedian Dick Gregory. At intervals, Rustin painstakingly assembled the boycott leaders for photographers and TV cameramen. Miss Shagaloff announced that the NAACP was pressing desegregation fights in eighty-one school systems in eighteen Northern and Western states, "every one separate and grossly unequal, exactly the same as in New York City." By 11:30, Rustin was ready to proclaim the boycott of the New York school system a "tremendous and overwhelming success." Donovan and the board, he added, "ought to know that the Negroes and Puerto Ricans have delivered a mandate and we expect him to act accordingly." Clearly buoyed by the results (when the count was all in, at least a third of the city's million or so pupils had supported the boycott by staying out), Rustin declared, "Donovan cannot ignore the will of the Negro people, the Puerto Rican people, and white people of good will."

What Was Gained?

Just how much of a success was the boycott? Mrs. Thelma Johnson of the Harlem Parents Committee, one of the supporting organizations along with CORE, the NAACP, the Urban League of Greater New York, and the Parents Workshop for Equality, called it a "whoopee success." Yet Donovan, a stubborn and not always tactful man, persists in his belief that the boycott was "a fizzle" and "a bust." It certainly did not bring on the "instant integration" that the critics claim the boycotters were demanding. Nor has it, as yet, secured "a meaningful timetable for integration" that satisfies the demonstrators. Indeed, for the moment, both board and boycotter stands have stiffened. Before the boycott, some of its leaders privately conceded that with New York economics, housing patterns, and politics, they could scarcely hope for much more than the terms the board of education had conceded just three days before the boycott. But now the boycott leaders are less willing to concede anything, privately or publicly. And the board has insisted that there is nothing further to negotiate.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the boycott did produce some changes. The board has promised to work out better social balances in thirty of the scheduled 165 elementary and junior high schools and to strengthen educational efforts in the Negro and Spanish-speaking areas. The boycotters can reasonably hope for an earlier—and possibly more thoroughgoing—implementation of the board's present plans for integration. The city may also cancel school-construction plans that call for the building of new schools in the heart of segregated areas and instead adopt a program of building in the so-called "fringe" areas. Some more rezoning or redistricting of school districts may also take place, along with a more complete reordering of present "feeder" patterns into the city's junior and high schools. And, since politicians are especially sensitive to rumblings in the city's Negro and Puerto Rican communities in election years, Donovan may find himself offered a judgeship a little sooner than he may have expected; also a second Negro and/or a Puerto Rican may be appointed to the board.

Behind the emotions stirred up with the keeping of children out of school smolders the controversial matter of bussing both Negro and white children out of their respective neighborhoods in order to integrate white and nonwhite schools. But positions are changing on this issue, too. The board has already decided upon a modification of the so-called Princeton plan, which may involve a modest amount of bussing in some areas. "No one," according to Miss Shagaloff of the NAACP, "has ever proposed that two hundred white children in Riverdale be exchanged for two hundred Negro children in Bedford-Stuyvesant and pass each other halfway and wave—if that's what they mean by bussing." Rustin, who points out that "The rich bus their children all over Manhattan to private schools without complaint for a better education," believes that if the city improves its schools, white middle-class parents will once again send their children to public schools, thus integrating and saving money at the same time. Farmer of CORE agrees. "Give us small (say fifteen children) integrated, heterogeneous classes, and you'll see white parents sending their kids to school soon enough," he said.

Aroused Parents

Actually, the main educational impact of the boycott may be no more than the simple message, as stated by Rustin, that "The people of New York no longer tolerate inferior schools." In practice, the board has always recognized the importance of this sort of pressure in middle-class neighborhoods. Staunch middle-class parents' associations in outer Brooklyn and Queens, for example, have managed to keep up their schools despite a general decline in the system over the past decade or so. When middle-class parents move into a predominantly working-class neighborhood, as in the Cobble Hill section of Brooklyn Heights recently, a decided improvement in the neighborhood school soon follows. But those who demonstrated on February 3 are not alone in feeling that the board, and in particular the school system's administrators, have not been listening to growing complaints about the quality of education in the predominantly Negro or Puerto Rican neighborhoods. In Manhattan's lower East Side, for example, Puerto Rican parents claim that they were insulted by school district officials when they sought to present their grievances. This, as much as anything else, explains why Puerto Ricans joined the boycott, to everyone's surprise. The leadership of the boycott was largely Negro, and there had been very little contact with the city's

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large Puerto Rican population.

The size of the boycott turnout can also be explained in terms of the awakening within the Negro community, hitherto largely apathetic, to the need for education. In large measure, the boycott was an expression of the accumulated frustrations experienced by Negro parents confronted by what strikes them as an immovable school bureaucracy and a city that places the construction of highways to feed traffic into the World's Fair ahead of improving education.

IN SOME WAYS the boycotting may turn out to be a blessing for some of the officials against whom it was directed. It has been easier for aroused Negro and Puerto Rican parents through such pressures as this boycott to get action from the board of education, generally acknowledged to be one of the best in the city's history, than to get the board's orders percolating throughout the school system. As one board member, Morris Iushewitz, let slip at a press conference, "We're their [the professional staff's] prisoners." That situation may change somewhat.

Beyond the immediate effect, or lack of it, on the city's educational system, the one-day demonstration may also be a portent of things to come. More boycotts are in the offing in New York City, Chicago, and elsewhere in the country. In part because of the involvement of children, relations between Negro militants and their Northern white allies are apt to be strained. "The boycott and the rent strike," Rustin declared, "are fair warning that the civil-rights revolution has reached out of the Southland and is now knocking at our doors." The youngsters, white and black, who cranked the mimeo machines, painted the signs, handed out the leaflets, and manned the picket lines may not be able to vote—yet. But it is clear that the token integration or token jobs that once may have satisfied their parents will not satisfy them. The boycott not only whetted the appetites of these youngsters but also sharpened their skills. This, along with the uplift in morale and pride within the Negro and Puerto Rican communities, must be counted as one of the major effects of the boycott.

The Reapportionment Riddle

JAMES E. CLAYTON

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ON EACH of the first three Mondays in January, the telephone in the office of Bert Whittington, the Supreme Court's public-affairs officer, began ringing more frequently than usual just after 10 A.M. The question, from newspaper reporters in all parts of the country, was almost always the same: "Did they do anything in our reapportionment case?"

Invariably Whittington's answer was, "No, not today."

Finally one reporter exploded: "If you don't do something on that case pretty soon, this state is going to be in a hell of a mess."

Whittington patiently explained that he has nothing to do with the timing or the content of the Supreme Court's decisions. The Justices, he could have pointed out, are not in the habit of timing their decisions for the benefit of anyone.

But the reporter's comment was pertinent. More and more of our state officials are growing concerned as each decision Monday at the Court goes by, the fall election draws nearer, and still there is no decision on reapportionment.

Take Oklahoma, for example. Unless the Supreme Court upsets a decision by a lower Federal court, that state will elect the members of its legislature this fall from districts drawn up by three Federal judges, not from districts approved by the state legislatures. If that happens, the state's two big cities, Oklahoma City and Tulsa, will have something approaching fair representation in the legislature for the first time in fifty years. But if the Supreme Court should happen to reverse the action of the lower court, the state's election machinery will be thrown into turmoil just a few months before the first Tuesday in November.

Several other states find themselves in somewhat similar situations. Cases involving the apportionment of legislative seats in New York, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, and Alabama are awaiting decision in the Supreme Court now. Another case from Colorado will be argued late in March. Officials in Michigan, Florida, Washington, Oklahoma, Ohio, and Illinois are waiting to see whether the Justices will agree to hear arguments on appeals of reapportionment matters involving their states.

The Court could announce a decision in some of these cases on any

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decision Monday now. But the Justices may not act until after the Colorado case is argued. The postponement of a decision until April or May would mean that the ruling either will have little effect on next fall's election or would result in a wholesale shuffling of legislative districts at the last moment.

A Matter of Standards

The problem confronting the states is that no standards to guide the lower courts were formulated by the Justices in their historic 1962 decision in *Baker* v. *Carr,* the Tennessee apportionment case that established Federal authority in such matters. As a result, the Federal and state courts that have been hearing those cases have rendered decisions that do not form any cohesive pattern.

Presumably the Justices, acting in their own good time, will provide standards, and the decisions will then fall into a pattern. But until that happens, no one can be certain whether the Constitution requires representation on a strictly per capita basis in both houses of a state legislature, or permits states to adopt "little Federal" systems of apportionment, or requires something entirely different from either system.

In providing those standards, the Supreme Court is facing one of the most momentous decisions in its history. It is dealing, for one of the few times on record, with the distribution of political power, with the representativeness of state governments, and indeed with the kind of government the states will have in the future.

For example, if the Court should say that both houses of every state legislature must be based on equal representation of all the voters, legislatures in many states will change quickly from bodies in which rural interests are dominant to bodies where cities and their outlying areas can flex their power. No one knows exactly what this would mean in terms of urban renewal, conservation, highways, schools, and so on.

This helps explain why the Court is approaching the issues so cautiously and why the Justices have listened so patiently while attorneys have made the same points over and over again in oral arguments. The fact that the Justices have already devoted about ten per cent of the time they have available to hear argument for this entire term to the reapportionment issue underlines its importance.

The difficulties of decision lie in the fact that the Court is working in an entirely new area. There are no old cases to provide even the barest framework for establishing criteria on apportionment questions. Until the decision in *Baker* v. *Carr,* the Court had regarded apportionment matters as part of that "political thicket" into which the Justices would not step. States have always considered the facts of political life in drawing the lines of election districts. Illinois, for example, has long split its state legislature so that Chicago and its suburbs control one house and the downstate areas the other.

All the Supreme Court can do is set out uniform standards for all the states and let politics fall where it may. The only existing guidelines that can be utilized in reapportionment cases are those drawn from prior interpretations of the Constitution's "equal protection" clause. This clause guarantees all residents of a state "equal protection of the laws" and is the basis of the Court's decision in *Baker* v. *Carr.* But, with the exception of its application in racial cases, previous interpretations of this clause are somewhat hazy.

The simplest answer to what equal protection means in the voting booth is "one man, one vote." That is the answer the Supreme Court gave a year ago when it held that Georgia's county-unit method of selecting the nominees of the Democratic Party for statewide and Federal offices was unconstitutional. The system, the Court said, discriminated against the voters in urban and suburban counties because their votes counted for much less than did the votes of the residents of small counties.

Applied to apportionment, this answer would mean that a state must attempt to make all its legislative districts the same size in terms of either population or voters. This argument was made to the Supreme Court several times in the series of cases argued last November and December. Charles Morgan, Jr., representing some urban dwellers in Alabama, put it this way:

"The one standard that is measurable, leaving less room for doubt, is population. If you use land or political units without population as a guiding standard, then you must have an unrepresentative system. Farms will always have more area than cities. . . . This country's dream says the people should govern themselves. The courts are there to protect the minority from the majority, but surely the majority should have power in both branches of the legislature."

Adducing Deviations

But the simple answer of one man, one vote has great difficulties, both theoretical and practical. The constitutions of many states have never provided for pure per capita representation in both houses of the legislature. Many states besides Illinois have arranged their legislative system to balance the power and interests of various sections of the state by apportioning the seats in the two houses somewhat differently.

The view of fifteen states that base one house on population and the other on political units such as counties was presented to the Supreme Court by Theodore I. Botter, first assistant attorney general of New Jersey. The essence of his argument, endorsed by the fourteen other state attorneys general, was:

"Our view is that an intentional check on majority rule in both houses of a bicameral government is a rational objective for a state. Majority rule in both houses does not provide adequate protection for minorities. The minority

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should have bargaining power in one house."

This approach to apportionment has a great deal of historical support. Maryland, for example, has always allocated one state senator to each county regardless of population. It deviates from this standard, however, by giving Baltimore six senators. The basic reason for this arrangement, according to Assistant Attorney General Robert S. Bourbon, is that the state "has a deep historical tradition of counties." He contends that a state has the right to adopt a "little Federal" system in which population is the basis of representation in one house and political units the basis in the other.

This Federal analogy has drawn some sharp criticism from the Justices on the basis of its relevancy to the states. Justice Hugo L. Black pointed out that the bases of representation in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives stemmed from a compromise made by the thirteen sovereign states when they formed the Union. A state could hardly argue that it was formed by sovereign counties and thus based its legislature on a similar compromise, he remarked.

Delaware, however, claims precisely that. Its counsel, Frederick Bernays Weiner, told the Justices that it was formed by the "three counties on the Delaware," each of which had been independent at the time of the Revolution. As a result, he contended, Delaware ought to be able to give each county the same representation in one house of its legislature without regard to population or to whatever else the Court requires of other states that do not have the same historical status.

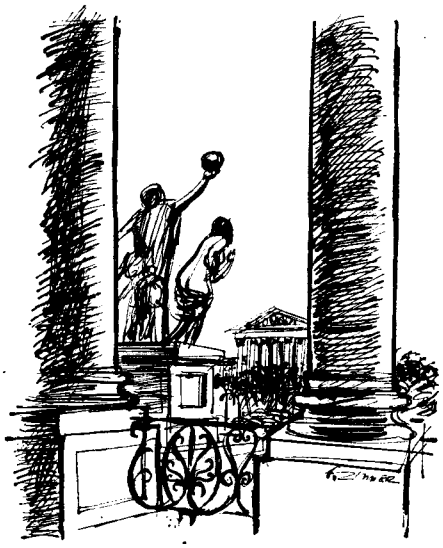
The most comprehensive idea of apportionment standards that the Court has before it is one presented by Solicitor General Archibald Cox on behalf of the Federal government. He was allowed to intervene in the cases as *amicus curiae,* a role in which he is free to present ideas but not bound to support the position adopted by any of the parties to the litigation.

Cox contends, "The basic standard of comparison is the representation accorded qualified voters per capita." He differentiated this thesis from the one man, one vote idea by saying the Court does not have to decide all of the aspects of apportionment this year. It can dispose of the current cases without doing so, he argued, and should leave some flexibility for future developments.

Any apportionment system that creates "gross inequalities" in per capita representation without rhyme or reason should be held unconstitutional as a denial of equal protection, Cox argued. He called this the "crazy-quilt" argument and applied it to states that, like Maryland, have arbitrarily given one area more representation than another.

Cox contended that a state cannot deliberately favor one class of voters over another, such as rural voters over urban voters. However, he added, if a system happened to do just that as a by-product of some other purpose, the act would not automatically be unconstitutional. He noted that Massachusetts might want to give Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard representation to which they would not be entitled on a population basis because of their detached location and unique problems. A similar argument might be made for Michigan's upper peninsula.

Cox's other general principle was that an apportionment system may



not depart grossly from population so that it "gives control of the legislature to small minorities of the people."

If the Court should adopt the general views presented by Cox, it would say that states must basically apportion their legislatures on a population basis but can deviate from this for good and sufficient reason. Exactly what reasons would be good and sufficient would be left for another day and another round of cases.

The Destiny of Density

However, there are even more factors involved. Assistant Solicitor General Irving Galt of New York contends that a state can consider such things as "accessibility of representation" and the "diffusion of political power" when it apportions legislative seats.

The accessibility factor is important, he argues, because a voter in a New York City district can easily arrange to see his representative while one in a mammoth district upstate may have to travel many miles to see his.

It is Galt's other factor—the diffusion of political power—that is the crucial point in reapportionment. In Galt's state this works to keep down the representation in Albany of New York City and other urban areas. The system in use there cuts the representation per capita of any county with more than six per cent of the state's population. Galt justified this on the ground that it is designed to ensure that "a few counties will not dominate . . . , counties with an institutional weight, a concentrated power."

Justice Byron R. White pointed out the aspects of this argument that troubled the Court when he asked, "What about the concentrated power of the areas with a minority of the population? Which would you prefer, the tyranny of the minority or the tyranny of the majority?"

Galt said he was not talking about entrenching minorities but merely about trying to give a voice to small counties. But the real point in the entire squabble was made by W. McLean Pitts of Selma, Alabama. He said that if the Court requires both houses of the Alabama legislature to be based on population, the rural parts of the state will be placed "under the thumb of those living in the dense areas." That, he said, "would be just as bad as having the minority rule the majority."

The Supreme Court, quite clearly, is caught between these two demands

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for power. The urban and suburban dwellers, who have long suffered in many states from the rural domination of legislatures, now want representation solely on population. The rural forces, in an effort to retain at least some of their power, want representation based on some other factor as well.

In the months since *Baker* v. *Carr*, reapportionment suits have been filed in thirty-nine of the fifty states. In twenty-six states, changes have already been made in the boundaries of the districts from which members of legislatures are elected. Without exception, these changes have meant more representation for city dwellers. Regardless of what the Supreme Court eventually says about how far and how fast the implementation of its decision must go, it is already clear that state government will never again be synonymous with rural domination. «»

The Nation's Primary Primary

DANIEL F. FORD

Durham, New Hampshire

One part-time politician, running "favorable to the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller" in the New Hampshire primary, wants it understood that he really prefers Henry Cabot Lodge. His wife, meanwhile, is working for Margaret Chase Smith. Their divided loyalty is symbolic of a contest that is more likely to wreck a modern American tradition than it is to produce a serious contender for the Presidency.

Confusion is inevitable in an election designed for local conditions but destined to receive national attention. In 1952, when New Hampshire started the Eisenhower bandwagon rolling, the state reacted to its fame like a man learning that he has just appeared on "Candid Camera." The grin seems a bit strained by this time. Voting, like lovemaking, is best done in private, and the voters of New Hampshire have had precious little privacy in the past two months.

About a hundred thousand Republican ballots will be cast on March 10. The no-contest Democratic primary may attract forty thousand. To influence this relative handful of voters, New Hampshire election laws permit each candidate to spend up to $25,000. Considering that limit, and making allowance for the platoons of newsmen who were following Goldwater and Rockefeller, the state director of economic development predicted that the primary might bring $200,000 into New Hampshire. He apparently underestimated the interest and involvement of the press. To help flash election results from polling place to newsrooms and television studios, the New England Telephone & Telegraph Company is installing equipment (including a sixteen-dish microwave relay tower) costing two or three times that amount. The total investment for press coverage of the campaign and election will be in the millions.

Cbs is spending most of the money, but Abc will have the largest staff of poll watchers—three hundred college students who will earn $15 for staying up late on primary night. Nbc has contracted with the League of Women Voters, and the Associated Press is employing the Junior Chamber of Commerce. The Manchester *Union Leader*, the state's dominant newspaper, will use its own network of correspondents. Other newspapers and broadcasters have united to support a two-hundred-man election headquarters in the state capital at Concord.

All this money and manpower may have been marshaled to report very little. Thanks to the publicity that now bathes this first-in-the-nation primary, the Republican ballot is so choked with names that many towns will be counting all night. Even when the results are in, it is probable that no candidate will have received a clear majority.

Most of the excitement is caused by the so-called "beauty contest" column of Presidential aspirants. This separate listing of the candidates, which lets the voters directly indicate their Presidential preference, was introduced in 1952 and is totally without obligation as far as New Hampshire's convention delegates are concerned. Anybody may enter this popularity poll by obtaining the signatures of a hundred registered voters. Five candidates have done so: Rockefeller and Goldwater, who are the real contenders; Margaret Chase Smith, Harold Stassen, and a local perennial named Norman LePage. There is also a blank space, and a write-in campaign is under way on behalf of Henry Cabot Lodge.

But the real function of the primary, first held in 1916, is to elect New Hampshire's delegation to the national party convention. The Republicans this year are allowed fourteen delegates plus fourteen alternates. To nail down New Hampshire's delegation, therefore, a prospective nominee must find twenty-eight prospective delegates who will link his name to theirs on the ballot. This is the test of a serious candidate. If he does not present a reasonably complete slate of delegates, he is in the race for publicity, quixotism, or the Vice-Presidency.

In addition to the Goldwater and Rockefeller slates, both complete, there are partial slates for Lodge and Stassen, plus enough unpledged dele-

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gates to give the voter a fifth—though blind — choice. Together with the alternate delegates, they will present the longest Republican ballot that New Hampshire has ever seen.

The absurd aspects of this list have not gone unnoticed in New Hampshire. The Lebanon *Valley News* mourned that "Never . . . have so few had to choose among so many." The Portsmouth *Herald* called the lineup ". . . a calculated conspiracy of total disorder."

The New Hampshire primary has long been the earliest, but it has not always been a free-for-all. Thrift dictated the timing: leap year already involved a general election in November, a primary for state and national office in September, and a town meeting in March. The Presidential primary was therefore combined with the March meeting. It was a sensible idea, saving money and guaranteeing a strong rural vote, and from 1916 to 1948 New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation campaign attracted little notice, even within the state. The candidates were usually party stalwarts. The "in" party tended to pick delegates pledged to the incumbent President, while the "outs" favored an unpledged delegation. The major exception was 1932, when a Roosevelt slate was selected.

Then, in time for the 1952 primary, the beauty contest was grafted to the ballot. Eisenhower was therefore the first President to launch his campaign with a direct appeal to New Hampshire voters. But it was Estes Kefauver, barnstorming the state with his big hand outstretched, who forged the new tradition. He not only won the beauty contest but also pulled in his delegates—most of them political amateurs—over a slate of professionals pledged to Harry Truman. He did it again in 1956 against Stevenson. His victories were a major factor in making him the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee the second time around.

Today a politician ignores New Hampshire at his peril. Kennedy, a master campaigner from across the state line, swept the 1960 primary with the very same tactics Kefauver had used. His opponents stayed out, and Kennedy became President. The lesson was not lost upon the candidates any more than it was lost upon the press. As a result, the original primary law has been completely inverted: the beauty contest is now all-important, and the only qualification for a delegate is that he back the right man.

Some observers (including Stewart Alsop, who ought to know better) are dismayed that a "backwoods" state should have so much influence in the making of a President. Others are amused. One television crew, for example, wanted to film "an average New Hampshire family" going to the polls on a dog sled. Such conceptions are, of course, anachronistic. Having shaken the hands and heard

the promises of so many candidates from Kefauver to Goldwater, New Hampshire voters are as sophisticated as any in the world.

'My Father's Voice'

Yet it is true that the state remains provincial in one respect—its journalism. The Manchester *Union Leader* is the only New Hampshire paper with statewide distribution, selling 52,000 copies a day in a state where only 140,000 voters take part in primary elections. This situation is exploited without restraint by its publisher, William Loeb.

"I believe there is probably a more irresponsible newspaper in the United States," said Kennedy of the *Union Leader* while campaigning in New Hampshire, "but I can't think of it. I believe that there is a publisher who has less regard for the truth than William Loeb, but I can't think of his name."

The *Union Leader* is particularly significant in the 1964 primary because, in Barry Goldwater, it has finally found a candidate it can support without qualification. This support is not confined to the editorial page. Goldwater is lavishly praised in over-the-masthead essays, sometimes anonymous, sometimes signed by such personalities as the widow of Senator Styles Bridges. (Her reasons for endorsing Goldwater include: "He is humorous, kind, direct, patient, clear-headed, courageous and intensely patriotic.") Goldwater's photograph looks out from the *Union Leader* as often as six times in a single issue. His moves across the state are heralded in eight-column streamer headlines, and his virtues are sung in front-page editorials. ("You ask me why I support Barry Goldwater. Let me tell you why. When I hear Barry Goldwater speak, I hear my father's voice. . . .")

The opposition—especially Rockefeller—is excoriated with equal enthusiasm. "Deception, deceit and divorce!" fumed Loeb after one Rockefeller speech. "If the New York Governor had come into New Hampshire this time and had played the game of politics hard, but clean and straight, perhaps many people would have been inclined to forget his career as a wife-swapper and those small Murphy children whose mother he lured away. But this lying attack on Sen. Goldwater brings back to mind the whole dirty, soiled and sordid Rockefeller picture."

Loeb has been venting his fury in the *Union Leader* for more than fifteen years. The results have not been spectacular, although his record is improving, indicating that his journalism may be having a cumulative effect. The *Union Leader* is a steady wind blowing to the Right, and its influence cannot be ignored in an already conservative state.

Barometer Falling

New Hampshiremen are outraged by the suggestion that their conservative leanings disqualify them as political bellwethers. Quite apart from the money, they enjoy the attention brought to them every fourth year by their Presidential primary.

"Stewart Alsop says we're atypical," grumbled *New Hampshire Profiles* magazine this month. "Who isn't? If the first-in-the-nation primary weren't held in atypical New Hampshire, it would take place in atypical somewhere else. Somebody has to be first." More to the point, the editor asked, "Why not? Except for wood, votes are our only export."

Actually, New Hampshire's most important export is industrial ma-

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chinery. Thus the image of this state as a stronghold of quaint, old-fashioned thinking is largely the creation of magazines like *Profiles* and *Yankee*, abetted by the publicity writers in the state's department of economic development. Yankee cussedness is good for the tourist trade.

"The popular mind regards this as a woodsy state," said Dr. Robert Dishman, professor of government at the state university. "That is true. New Hampshire is second only to Maine in the amount of its land that is covered by trees. But it also ranks second—behind Connecticut—in the extent to which its labor force is engaged in industrial production. Between the extremes, New Hampshire represents the American experience fairly well."

Dishman and another member of the faculty recently completed a study of "barometric counties"—those geographical prophets that always vote for the winner. The statistics indicate that New Hampshire is indeed a remarkable barometer of American voting patterns. For sixty-four years, from McKinley through Kennedy, two New Hampshire counties have consistently picked the next President. Astonishingly, there are only five such counties in the entire nation. In their study, which will be read at Brown University in April, the U.N.H. professors demonstrate that these barometric counties cling to the national average on almost every index that political science can devise. This suggests that New Hampshire successfully launched the Eisenhower and Kennedy campaigns not because its primary is first but because its voters do accurately reflect the thinking of the American electorate.

Does this mean that George Gallup can disband his pollsters and move to New Hampshire? Alas, no. A barometer is reliable only as long as it is left to its own devices. Between the excited maneuvering of the candidates and the extensive press coverage, New Hampshire has not had this sort of privacy for quite some time. "We have become self-conscious," Dr. Dishman said, with the sadness of one who foresees the loss of two of his barometric counties, "and a self-conscious man is no longer typical."

VIEWS & REVIEWS

A Southerner's Answer To the Negro Question

C. VANN WOODWARD

It is now three-quarters of a century since Lewis Harvie Blair of Richmond, Virginia, published his book in defense of Negro equality. An uncompromising attack on racial segregation, discrimination, and injustice of any kind, his book demanded full civil rights for the Negro, equal access to hotels, theatres, and all places of amusement and public accommodations, unrestricted franchise and political rights, as well as integration of churches and public schools. Accompanying these demands was a blistering and iconoclastic attack on the dogmas of white supremacy and Negro inferiority, the plantation legend of slavery, the paternalistic tradition of race relations, the black-domination picture of Reconstruction, and the complacent optimism of the New South school of economists.

Published in 1889, Blair's *Prosperity of the South Dependent on the Elevation of the Negro* attracted little attention and had little influence. It was soon forgotten and has been neglected ever since.*

The quick oblivion is not hard to explain. The book appeared not long before the great racist reaction that overtook the country in the 1890's. In the South the reaction found expression in white-supremacy propaganda, segregation laws, poll taxes, literacy and property tests, white primaries, and other devices for disfranchising the Negroes. It was accompanied by an increase in lynching, riots, and other forms of violence against the minority race. It resulted in driving the Negro from all forums and avenues of political life, in stripping him of many of the civil rights and defenses he had gained through the Reconstruction amendments, and in reducing him to a despised and segregated outcast.

By the end of the century the South had reached a consensus on race policy. Its mind was closed. The debate was frowned down or smashed. Conformity was demanded of all. The ensuing rigidity of regional attitude is reminiscent of that which occurred over the slavery issue in the early 1830's. Under these circumstances a book by a Southerner of authentic lineage and high standing that challenged every dogma of the new consensus from top to bottom was about as welcome and popular as a red-hot abolitionist tract by a com-

*A new edition, entitled *A Southern Prophecy*, will be published next month by Little, Brown. This essay is part of Professor Woodward's introduction.

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parable Southern author in the 1850's.

But in 1889 the great freeze had not yet taken place. Alternatives were still available. Real choices had to be made. Many of those issues about which there was soon to be such stiff conformity and incorrigible rigidity were still open questions. And in Virginia there was rather more hesitancy about closing off the debate and clamping down conformity than there was in other Southern states.

Charles E. Wynes, the most recent and thorough student of race relations in Virginia, finds that "the most distinguishing factor in the complexity of social relations between the races was that of inconsistency. From 1870-1900, there was no generally accepted code of racial mores." During that period of thirty years, according to this scholar, "at no time was it the general demand of the white populace that the Negro be disfranchised and white supremacy made the law of the land." The era of Jim Crow was still to come, and its first formal appearance in Virginia was not until 1900, when a law requiring the separation of the races on railroad cars was adopted. Up until that time, according to Mr. Wynes, "the Negro sat where he pleased and among the white passengers on perhaps a majority of the state's railroads." The same was true of streetcars and, with greater variation and more exceptions, of other public accommodations and places of entertainment. While he often encountered rebuff and even eviction, "occasionally the Negro met no segregation when he entered restaurants, bars, waiting rooms, theatres, and other public places of amusement." Whatever the risks and uncertainties and the crosscurrents of ambivalence and ambiguity, there was still a considerable range of flexibility, tolerance, and uninhibited contact and association in relations between the races in Virginia.

In the political life of the state during this period the Negroes, being a majority of the population in forty of the ninety-nine counties, played a prominent and sometimes crucial part. They held numerous public offices, elective and appointive. There were Negro members of the General Assembly, the oldest representative legislative body in the New World, in every session from 1869 to 1891. Negroes voted in large numbers, and while they were overwhelmingly Republican, their votes were sought by both of the major parties and with striking success by two important third parties in the period, the Readjusters and the Populists. A split between radicals and moderates in the Republican Party deprived the Negroes of the prominent role they played during Reconstruction in some other Southern states. But they compensated for this in large measure by the part they played in the Readjuster Party, which drove the conservatives from power in 1879 and took control of the state until 1883. Combining with impoverished and discontented white farmers and workers in support of the Readjusters, the Negroes assisted in giving Virginia a foretaste of Populism and the most liberal reform administration the state ever had—before or since.

Returning to power in 1884, the conservatives rushed through a new election law designed to defraud Negro voters and invite ballot-box corruption. The law was effectively used for this purpose, but Negro political strength still remained formidable. In the Presidential election of 1888 the Democratic candidate won by a narrow margin, with 151,979 for Cleveland and 150,449 for Harrison. In the same year the first (and last) Negro, John Mercer Langston, was elected to Congress from Virginia. At the same time the people of the state voted down a proposal to hold a convention to amend the liberal Reconstruction constitution of 1868, a move that would have made possible the curtailment of Negro suffrage.

Such was the temper of mind, the balance of forces, and the accommodation of races in Virginia in 1889. It was one of the pivotal moments of history when public commitment and decision were still in suspense, when to all appearances the balance could swing either way. Voices of reaction, racism, and fanaticism were already calling for extreme measures—for disfranchisement, for segregation, for rigid conformity of white supremacy and a closed society. Their influence was already being felt in the lower South and they were at work in the upper South as well. But in most of the Southern states, and in Virginia particularly, there was still strong resistance to the fanatics. There were even Southerners who denounced the existing compromise of racial accommodation and called for radical advance to a new order of equal rights and racial justice. They were few in number, but there was a willingness to hear them out. The situation was, for the moment, still fluid. There was a disposition to suspend judgment, to consider alternatives, and to ponder the future with an open mind.

The role of the iconoclast was obviously congenial to the Blair temperament. This was evident from the zest with which in his book on the Negro problem he pitched into his attack on cherished and hallowed Southern myths, prejudices, credos, anything that stood in the way of the new social doctrine he preached.

His first target was the brightest and most conspicuous on the contemporary scene — the New South gospel. In 1889 this doctrine had reached a peak of popularity on the eve of the death of its major prophet, Henry W. Grady of Atlanta, the famous orator and editor. Grady left scores of ardent apostles and a host of converts. A message of such cheerful optimism held great attraction for a hope-starved people. Its adherents proclaimed that the cloud of depression and poverty was lifting, that prosperity was rolling in, that great cities like those of the golden East were springing up out of ashes, and manufacturing industries were growing at a magic pace. The great leap forward into the age of industrialization could be accomplished without any painfully protracted period of capital accumulation merely by will power and enough publicity to attract eager Northern and foreign investment capital to abundant natural resources and the cheap labor supply. The era of a depressed, underdeveloped, colonial, raw-material economy was at an end. The states of the late Confederacy, moreover, could march triumphantly into the promised land of industrialization without abandoning many of the values and loyalties and habits of the past. These included white

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Lewis Harvie Blair was born in Richmond on June 28, 1834, and died there on November 26, 1916. The Blair name began to figure prominently in colonial times and continued to grow in distinction through the Civil War years.

He enlisted as a private in the Confederate Army in March, 1862. His later description of his military service is revealing: "more than three years wasted in the vain effort to maintain that most monstrous institution, African slavery, the real, tho' States Rights were the ostensible cause of the War."

Lewis more than recouped the family fortunes and status, for it is doubtful that any of the three preceding generations of American Blairs lived in finer style or occupied higher social positions in the city. Whatever may explain the rebellion of this Richmond aristocrat, it was hardly loss of status. Blair knew he would be accused of outrageous motives but said he would "patiently bear the odium attached to such charges." "I may be presumptuous," he frankly admitted, "but my Southern ancestry, birth, rearing, residence and interest preserve me from the charge of invidiousness." At least no one could call him an outsider.

supremacy, the comfortable assurance that the degraded mass of Negroes knew their place and would keep to it, the inexhaustible patience of the impoverished whites, and a large assortment of sentimental ties to the Lost Cause and the old régime.

Blair struck contemptuously at the "brag, strut, and bluster" of the boosters and the prosperity propaganda of such journals as the Baltimore *Manufacturers' Record*. "Judging by these sheets," he wrote, "one would naturally imagine that the South is a region where poverty is unknown and where everybody is industriously and successfully laying up wealth," that "the South is indeed a happy Arcadia." It was true that New South propaganda had managed to persuade a few Northern journalists and capitalists that it was indeed a "happy Arcadia." But "these gentlemen, having been hurried through hundreds of miles in luxurious palace coaches, have practically been blindfolded as to the condition of the country passed through, and not having their eyes unbandaged until in the middle of furnaces, rolling mills, and all the activities of a manufacturing center, they are dazzled by what they see." The trouble was they had lost sight of "the real South—that is to say, of ninety-five per cent thereof."

Unlike the New South, Lewis Blair's "real South" was a backward land, a land of wretched poverty for "the six millions of Negroes who are in the depths of indigence," as well as the ninety per cent of the whites who had "nothing beyond the commonest necessities of life," if that. His beloved South was a retarded region of "dilapidated homesteads," of "fenceless plantations," of illiteracy, of chronic underemployment. To prove his contentions and counter those of "devout believers in the New South," he presented comparative statistics on property values, savings, urban growth, manufacturing, and production. Crude as they were as statistics, his figures served to make his point that the South lagged far behind the American procession, that its people were too poor to accumulate savings and industrialize their economy, and that they lived in a quasi-colonial economy of one-crop agriculture producing raw materials and importing manufactures.

As an active businessman and manufacturer, Blair knew that there were "many causes conspiring to the poverty" of the South, and he listed several, concluding with the degraded status of the Negro. "Each of these causes," he wrote, "would greatly retard the prosperity of the South, or indeed of any country, but all of them combined, destructive as they would necessarily be to prosperity, are not as serious and as fatal as the last named cause, namely: The Degradation of the Negro." It was the most "far-reaching cause of all," for it served "to intensify all the other drawbacks." The slight regard for sancity of Negro life and civil rights undermined the sanctity of life and civil rights for all. And similarly the miserable standards of housing, health, diet, education, and morals imposed on the degraded race dragged down the standards of the whole population, whites included, in all these vital areas. The only way out for the South, therefore, was the elevation of the Negro—the immediate elevation of the race.

True to his "hard doctrine" of realism, Blair denied that he rested his argument on the demands of justice, morality, or religion—however strong those demands might be. His was the argument of self-interest based "simply on economic ground, on the ground of advantage to the whites." The Southern white man must be convinced that the only way out of economic stagnation and poverty lay in the elevation of the Negro—the radical and drastic elevation of the whole race. This could not be left to slow evolution. "Man's life is now too short to wait for the natural process of time." The white man "must hasten nature and take a hand himself." The remedies were of a heroic order, for the Negro "must economically, morally, and socially be born again, and self-respect, hope, and intelligence are the trinity that will work out his elevation, and they are also the rule of three to work out our own material regeneration."

But if the Negro were to remain "a despised and degraded creature, speaking with bated breath and bowing with head uncovered," if he were "to remain forever a 'nigger,' and an object of undisguised contempt, even to the lowest whites," how could he be expected to develop the self-respect, the hope, the ambition that were essential to striving and effort, self-denial and self-discipline? Why should he be expected to become anything but a clown, a drunkard, and a thief? The South was "a veritable land of caste," and so long as the caste system prevailed the Negro was doomed to servility and humiliation.

Back of the caste system was the myth of white supremacy, and for the pretensions of this dogma Blair had nothing but scorn and contempt. Admittedly race prejudice was deeply entrenched among white Americans, but it was "always a weakness," in extreme form "a badge of dishonor," and it must be eradicated. It was nonsense to hold that it was ineradicable, for it had already been abandoned by advanced nations. In England and France and in Latin nations generally the Negro was "under no political or social ban," and in Brazil he was "accorded full social and political equality." In fact, a

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Virginian who had served as United States consul in Rio in the 1850's assured Blair that "he had danced with Negroes at parties and official receptions" and that many of them "were much more elegantly cultured than he was himself." Yet in our "land of the free" a man with the slightest trace of Negro blood, even one who had "rendered great services to his country or to humanity" and who had been "honored in England, France, and Germany," could never feel safe from "snubs, insults, or even kicks from the superior whites." Such conduct was unworthy of a great nation.

The Virginian was perfectly aware that his people, especially the patricians among them, often prided themselves on acts of kindness and deeds of genuine helpfulness toward individual Negroes and favored families and groups. "But we forget," he wrote, "that our kindness to the Negroes proceeds from the standpoint of condescension, and of assumed caste superiority, and we expect it to be received with humility and from a feeling of acknowledged caste inferiority; and if not so received by the Negroes, they are thought impudent and impertinent, and the foundation of our kindness soon dries up."

The Negro was not deceived by the whites. He knew that "this kindness springs mainly from the same benevolence that prompts consideration for their horses and cattle." He knew it was the reward for quiet and complete submission. On the surface the Negro appeared acquiescent and contented and the South peacefully and quietly adjusted in its relations. But the appearance was deceptive and the adjustment could not continue indefinitely. Shortsighted selfishness and an ancient and modern record of injustice had "raised up an enemy, silent and sullen, at our very doors." The policies of white domination, notwithstanding all paternalistic benevolence and charity and condescension, had produced "in the hearts of six millions of fellow-citizens a vast mass of smoldering enmity and bitterness, only awaiting a favorable opportunity to display itself."

IF PATERNALISTIC benevolence, condescending kindness, the restraints and indulgences of *noblesse oblige*, and all the charities and back-door integration and half-measures were not the answer, what then was the answer? To Lewis Blair the answer was a complete end to segregation and to all forms of discrimination, favoritism, and exclusion on the ground of race or color. He put it plainly:

> The Negro must be allowed free access to all hotels and other places of public entertainment; he must be allowed free admittance to all theatres and other places of public amusement: he must be allowed free entrance to all churches, and in all public and official receptions of president, governor, mayor, &c. He must not be excluded by a hostile caste sentiment. In all these things and in all these places he must, unless we wish to clip his hope and crush his self-respect, be treated precisely like the whites, not better, but no worse.

But what of the argument that "theatres, hotels, and churches are private property, and that to compel them to receive Negroes on equal terms with whites would be to correct one wrong . . . by committing another"? His answer was that although they may be private property, "they are public as regards their creation and their functions, and they are of the nature of railways, which may be private property, but which are public institutions." They were licensed by "the public, which means not some, but all the people, not whites alone, but whites and blacks." They could "as properly refuse accommodation to all whose noses indicate Semitic origin, all whose names or 'rich brogue' betray Hibernian descent . . . as to refuse similar accommodation to all whose faces are black." To shut the doors of any one of these institutions—whether church or theatre or governor's mansion—"in the faces of any portion of the community is to degrade and to humiliate it."

THERE WAS one right, held Blair, that was "the right preservative of all rights." That was the ballot, and it was "as absolutely essential for freedom as is the atmosphere for life." Yet it was denied to a great number of Negro citizens of the lower South, and had been since the overthrow of Reconstruction. This was done sporadically by intimidation and fraud rather than consistently by legal disfranchisement, as it was later to be done. The rationalization of Negro disfranchisement was that it was necessary to prevent Negro domination and assure pure government. In Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee at the time Blair was writing, however, the Negroes voted freely and fully. Yet these states showed "greater progress and prosperity" than the other Southern states, "and certainly as much moral and intellectual development." During the administration of the Readjuster Party, Virginia "had so-called Negro rule, but the Commonwealth survived, and, in the opinion of many, was much benefited." Protracted one-party rule in Virginia, as in other Southern states, had produced nepotism, corruption, and numerous treasury defalcations. "The fear of Negro rule in the sense of the alarmists," declared Blair, "is a wild and pernicious chimera," and those "who go around wearing the frightful scare-face" in the name of good government were "doing an untold amount of evil to the South." They not only alienated their fellow citizens, but they put a powerful lever in the hands of sectional foes. "The South would make a tremendous ado . . . if a Northern oligarchy of half the population were to claim and assume the right to vote for the whole population." If the South itself continued to do the same thing, it invited a second Reconstruction. "Better surrender now with the honors of the war, or rather with the honors of right, than to wait for years and then surrender at discretion," he warned.

IN TACKLING the racial problem in the public schools, Blair knew that he faced one of the most sensitive areas of white prejudice and fear. He had remedies to propose, he admitted, "that will clash with all of our preconceived ideas, that will be distasteful and repugnant to our prejudices, but," he stoutly maintained, "not to reason and justice." Therefore, to say that reforms were "distasteful and repugnant is really to say nothing against them," for the whole history of progress and the rise of Christianity itself were "simply an overcoming of the violent prejudices and repugnancies of the civilized world." Thus fortified by reason

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and justice, the intrepid Virginia rationalist set forth his revolutionary proposal:

> The remedy proposed is not a bread pill or some soothing syrup, but is a radical and far-reaching one, and is no less than the abandonment of the principle of separate schools, which principle is an efficient and certain mode of dooming to perpetual ignorance both whites and blacks in thinly settled sections.

This was a reform from which even the statesmen of Radical Reconstruction in full possession of power had shied away. And Blair admitted that unless he could convince the whites of the necessity and advantage of the reform, they would "never consent to coeducation [of the races], but will prefer to remain ignorant." He therefore marshaled a wide array of financial, practical, moral, and psychological arguments. Characteristically, he put forward practical reasons of self-interest first, but the real weight of his argument rested upon moral and psychological reasons—some of them quite prophetic and in advance of his time.

THE PRACTICAL and financial arguments were telling. The South was the poorest region of the country with the largest number of children per adult to educate. Its population was not concentrated in towns and cities but widely scattered and dispersed. On top of these enormous burdens was the self-imposed handicap of trying to maintain two separate school systems for the two races, with two corps of teachers and two sets of plant and equipment. The result was a miserably inadequate system, with poor and underpaid teachers, neglected and poorly equipped schools, ill-schooled children, and growing illiteracy. "To fight the battle of education with our present forces and present system of separate schools seems well-nigh hopeless," concluded Blair. To integrate the schools was to relieve the people of part of their burden and improve the schools for both races.

In the second place, separate or segregated schools were morally and psychologically harmful to the children of both races. The damage to the Negro children was most obvious:

> Separate schools are a public proclamation to all of African or mixed blood that they are an inferior caste, fundamentally inferior and totally unfit to mingle on terms of equality with the superior caste. That this is not a temporary and ephemeral but a fundamental and caste inferiority is proven by the fact that opposition does not cease when the temporary inferiority ceases, but still operates, however cultured and refined the Negro may be. Hence it follows that separate schools brand the stigma of degradation upon one-half of the population, irrespective of character and culture, and crush their hope and self-respect, without which they can never become useful and valuable citizens.

The feeling of inferiority "thereby taught the blacks cultivates feelings of abasement and of servile fear of all whom they consider superior—sentiments totally destructive of manliness, courage, and self-respect."

If segregated schooling robbed the Negro children of incentive for achievement, it had the same effect on white children, though from an opposite cause. Since it taught them that "superiority consists in a white skin, they will naturally be satisfied with that kind of superiority, and they will not willingly undergo the tedious, painful, and patient ordeal requisite to prepare them for superiority in science, art, literature."

Integrated schools would "emancipate us from this fallacy" and teach both races that "the difference between man and man is not color, but character and conduct." They would dissipate the spirit of "oligarchy, caste, vassalage," and disseminate "correct ideas of personal liberty and equality." They would help remove the brand of degradation from the Negro and the false assumption of superiority from the white and give new incentive for achievement to both.

Those who protested that integration would demoralize the white children "overlook the fact that from earliest childhood they have been subjected to intimate Negro association" with playmates and "the unrestrained influences of Negro nurses at the very time the mind and the heart are most susceptible to influence of every kind." If segregation were the salvation of the whites, it came too late. As for the dangers of demoralization, "History, fiction, the drama, everyday life, all abundantly illustrate the demoralizing effects of the higher upon the lower walks of society. . . . and so it is in the South in the intercourse of the two colors. . . . Demoralization, indeed!"

LOOKING to the future, Blair saw three alternatives open to the South. The first was to assure Negroes "the whole one hundred per cent" of their rights, so they would be "as free and as equal citizens as the proudest whites." That, he strongly urged, was the way to "peace, happiness, prosperity for all." The second alternative lay in "completely disarming the blacks and reducing them to a condition of complete subordination and degradation." The third lay in half-measures, compromises, and inadequate concessions. Both of the latter alteratives led to "strife, sorrow, adversity for all."

A full retreat to the past, to a *cordon sanitaire* and an intellectual barricade against criticism and ideas such as the slave régime maintained, was no longer really open to the South. The outside world was now looking over its shoulder and could not be shut out or put off. "We can no more defend our attitude towards the Negroes," he wrote, "than could the Algerian corsairs defend their attitude to the Christian world." The age of caste and privilege was over, for this was "the age of reason." He did not expect to see the walls of caste come tumbling down overnight. "The battle will be long and obstinate," and there would be "many difficulties, delays, and dangers." Nevertheless he was confident of victory in the end. "We older ones will not see that day," he said, "but our grandchildren will, for the light of coming day already irradiates the eastern sky."

As a final word, Blair addressed an admonition and an appeal to the North. Careful as always to appeal

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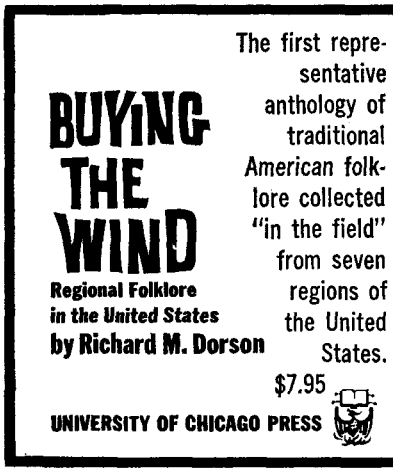

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to the motive of self-interest, he pointed out that "in a common country one great section cannot languish without the other sections, even the wealthy and prosperous manufacturing sections, suffering also." The North had a vested interest in the welfare of the South, "and *if* the prosperity of the South is dependent upon the elevation of the Negro your prosperity is intimately associated with that of the South," and could not "escape the penalty of the South remaining in a stagnant or declining condition in consequence of the Negroes remaining in a state of degradation." In Blair's opinion, "the greatest impediment in the way of Southerners being willing to elevate the Negro was the North's own "dereliction of duty towards him." This put into the mouth of Southerners the *argumentum ad hominem*, "the argument that you do so yourself." And so every valid criticism of Southern injustice was nullified by an equally valid charge of Northern hypocrisy.

BUT THAT is not the end of the story of Lewis Blair as a prophet of race relations. Nor is it the full measure of its irony. Unfortunately, he lived on through the era of reactionary racism and Jim Crowism. More unfortunate still, there exists unimpeachable evidence that the prophet himself was swept up in the storm of reaction he failed to predict and could not foresee. As late as 1898 he was still reaffirming his equalitarian heresies and lamenting the fact that the South seemed more determined than ever to keep the Negro down and that the North was more and more indifferent to his plight. Blair's great change came sometime after that, between 1898 and his death in 1916. Exactly when and exactly why are unknown. But in his private papers (still in private hands) Mr. Wynes has recently found a manuscript of 270 pages, untitled, unsigned, and undated, but unmistakably identified by the handwriting as Blair's own. It is a complete and unqualified recantation of his equalitarian and liberal position of 1889 with regard to the Negro. More than that, it is a total reversal of his earlier stand. It will be recalled that in his book he had indicated three alternatives of racial policy open to the South. The first, his own, was "the whole one hundred per cent" of rights and equality; the second, "complete subordination and degradation"; the third, half-measures, compromises, and limited concessions. The two latter he had prophesied led to "strife, sorrow, adversity for all." In the undated handwritten manuscript, belatedly rejecting the first, he now chose not the third but the second alternative; he declared that "the only logical position for the Negro is absolute subordination to the whites." Blair's new logic called for repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as well as the complete disfranchisement and total segregation of the Negro. He should be treated kindly but always as an inferior creature—permanently and inherently inferior to whites.

The charitable impulse would be to attribute the change to senility, but the fact is that Blair maintained a lively and intelligent sympathy with Wilsonian progressivism up to the end of his days. His new racial views were quite reconcilable with the progressivism of that day, of course, but neither was the result of senility. Another possibility is that his second marriage in 1898, at the age of sixty-four, to a woman half his age who did not share his racial views may have influenced him. But to those who are familiar with this obscure era of Southern history, Blair's complete reversal will not seem so strange or unprecedented. Other examples will come to mind. The most prominent were the Southern Populists, who swung from an advanced brand of racial justice (though more limited than Blair's) to an extreme brand of racial injustice—with Tom Watson of Georgia as the classic instance. Blair only proved it could happen in Virginia too, on the other side of the railroad tracks and in one of the finer mansions.

It is hard to say now which is the greater biographical enigma, the ringing affirmation of faith in 1889 or the silent recantation of old age. But across the dark years of reaction, years of "strife, sorrow, adversity" that he himself predicted would follow the course he later took, the boldly prophetic pronouncement of '89 stands forth as clear, as relevant, and as challenging as it was when it was published seventy-five years ago.

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Arthur Miller's Pilgrimage

TOM F. DRIVER

A GOOD SIGN of health in the theatre has been the public response to the sale of subscription tickets by the Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center. In a record advance sale, 46,500 such tickets (each good for three plays) were bought, seventy-five per cent of them by the very people Broadway cannot usually count on: inhabitants of the City of New York. There appears to be, even in jaded New York, an appetite for theatre if it promises to provide, at a reasonable price, intellectual stimulation and professional expertise. Another factor that also probably counted for much is that the idea of a repertory theatre suggests a dedication of its founders to the public. There is a great difference between offering up plays to the public and offering the public up to plays. In many minds, "commercial theatre" has come to be synonymous with making the audience a sacrificial victim. The Lincoln Center Theatre went out of its way to make the public think it believed in them —for one thing, it by-passed the ticket brokers. The strategy has paid off.

The liability of a repertory theatre, from the point of view of audience enjoyment, is that it may come to seem overly serious. It may lose that quality of irreverence, that sense of audacity and impropriety, which flavors all theatre at its very best.

I post this as a warning for the Lincoln Center Theatre because an air of self-regard hangs over its first production, taking the edge off an experience that might have been superb. This is mainly the result of the company's choice of an autobiographical play by Arthur Miller. This new work, his first for the stage in eight years, has to do with people who did and did not co-operate as witnesses for the House Un-American Activities Committee, reminding us that this issue brought Arthur Miller and Elia Kazan to a parting of the ways in 1952 and that the present occasion reunites them.

Another part has to do with Miller's marriage to Marilyn Monroe. Here there are oblique references to certain people associated with the Actors' Studio, and once again Kazan comes to seem part of the subject of the play as well as its director. Add to this the fact that the play's central character, a self-projection of the playwright, spends much of his time in direct address to the audience, with whom he seems especially eager to establish or to re-establish communication, and it will be seen that *After the Fall* is a play during which we never seem to be very far removed from ourselves. Deliverance comes in the performance of an unknown actress named Barbara Loden. I don't know whether it was luck, shrewdness, or inspiration that led Elia Kazan to cast her in the feminine lead. At any rate, in watching her the audience can lose itself quite easily in the excitement of discovery.

The play, as I have suggested, lacks "aesthetic distance." This critical term is out of fashion, but it describes something important in all good drama, whether the construction be Aristotelian, Brechtian, or what have you. The subjective origins and subjective appeal of a play should be focused in an objectivity of substance and form. It is such objectivity that I find to be, if not altogether lacking, at least deficient in *After the Fall.*

IN FORM, the work is a soliloquy with illustrations. A lawyer named Quentin tells the story of his life, trying in the process to make psychological and moral sense out of what has happened to him. Arthur Miller once said that the first title he used for the play that became *Death of a Salesman* was *The Inside of His Head.* He seems now to have returned to that image, for he tells us that the action of *After the Fall* "takes place in the mind, thought, and memory of Quentin, a contemporary man." In and out of Quentin's mind, thought, and memory (three heavy words for one ordinary brain) float the *dramatis personae* of his past: mother, father, brother, left-wing associates, two wives, and three other women. He has got burnt flirting with Communism, failed in two marriages, lost his job, and wandered to Europe, where a visit to the site of a Nazi extermination camp in the company of a woman (Salome Jens) who came out of it alive reveals to him only his own moral impotence. He is afraid of the future. At the end of the play, he begins to overcome that fear as he discovers the moral truth about himself and all men, namely that "we are born after the Fall." None of us is innocent, and we can love only to the extent that we recognize ourselves as "dangerous" to one another.

The vocabulary in which Quentin's discoveries are enunciated fans out in many directions. Much of it is religious, even Christian, but none, I am afraid, carries that freshness of tone which is the mark of authentic personal discovery. Instead, we hear of familiar themes in familiar words: innocence and guilt, finding and losing identity, loneliness and community, hope and despair, belief and unbelief, saving others and being saved, crucifixion and resurrection. Watching the play, one does not doubt that Arthur Miller is, in Dr. Earl Loomis's phrase, a "self in pilgrimage," and this gives the play sufficient human interest to sustain it over many weak passages. But what bothers one is that the pilgrimage seems to have yielded the writer no insights and no utterance truly his own.

Feeling the loss of authenticity in their relationship, Quentin says to his first wife, "Why can't we speak in words that go below the issue?" The line is one of the play's best, and what it asks is exactly what we ask of Miller when the play is done. In fact, we have asked it after each of his plays. Miller always gets our ear by promising to go below the prose surface into the poetic depth, but the plunge is never quite made.

LIKE most people, Miller is a better observer of other persons than of himself. Unlike most people, he has the writer's gift of getting those observations down. And as with many

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modern writers, his female characters are better than the males.

Jason Robards, Jr.'s, performance as Quentin deserves and will receive high praise. It is not his fault if, during the three hours he is on stage, we remember now and then roles in which he has been more believable. Quentin stands at the dead center of this play. While the play is *about* growth through encounter with other people, what it *shows* is Quentin in dialogue with himself alone. Because the playwright has made Quentin neither strong nor original, the play seems soft, if not vacant, at the center. Within this limitation, Robards contrives brilliantly never to lose the audience's interest and sympathy.

Quentin's two wives are both expertly drawn by very different means. The first (played by Mariclare Costello) is severe of character and is sketched with an expert economy of line. The second (Barbara Loden), based on Marilyn Monroe, is poured forth in a profusion of self-revelatory word and deed. The kitten and the demon are both present, and in such spirit that we can understand both Quentin's love for her and, later, his confession that he longed for her to die. The part of the play that deals with this marriage is clearly the best written of the whole.

Among the rest of the cast, all members of the repertory company, I liked particularly the work of Salome Jens as Holga and Zohra Lampert as Felice. Elia Kazan is not yet, I think, a master of the directing techniques required by the open stage on which the Miller work has been mounted, but his conception of the play is sure, and he has exercised a welcome restraint in his approach to the material.

THE new ANTA Washington Square Theatre, where the company will reside until 1965, is the most attractive in New York. Its interior design is the work of Jo Mielziner, who has made it exactly what it should be: a room in which the audience embraces the place where players play. If Mielziner can match its theatrical "rightness" in the permanent structure to be built uptown, he will have given the company its aesthetic charter.

The Way the World Ends

JAY JACOBS

STANLEY KUBRICK'S film *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* addresses itself to nothing less than thermonuclear apocalypse and assaults its theme in the grand manner, with an Elizabethan exuberance and with the audacity, probity, tastelessness, and furious disregard for anyone's *amour-propre* that are the hallmarks of authentic satire. And real satire is a rare commodity these days, a lot of benign lampoonists, caricaturists, and night-club entertainers notwithstanding. Kubrick, Terry Southern, and Peter George, in their adaptation of a book by George, have set off a large cherry bomb inside the intellectual fallout shelter that many of us hoped would exclude the unthinkable, and their little prank is discomfiting as well as hilarious.

The inexorable advance on Armageddon that constitutes the action of the film is set in motion by a paranoid right-wing Air Force general, Jack D. Ripper. This superpatriot, having mistaken his own sexual inadequacy for irrefutable evidence of a Soviet plot to "sap and impurify all of our precious bodily fluids," orders a flight of bombers into Russia. The rest of the film traces the bungling efforts of an asinine liberal President and his maniacal military advisers to reverse a sequence of events that (thanks to precautions taken by the bodily-fluids man and the accuracy of Soviet ground-to-air defenses) has already been rendered irreversible.

Kubrick, in his varied capacities as producer, director, and writer, is in fine anarchic fettle. He and Southern have rounded up just about every sacred cow in the herd and slaughtered them one by one in a lunatic atmosphere of slapstick, bawdry, word play, and a snowballing comic hysteria that builds up so much pressure that the final blotting out of all existence comes almost as a relief.

Much of *Dr. Strangelove* takes place in the "War Room" at the Pentagon, and it is here that the satire reaches a pitch of sustained mordancy the like of which certainly has never been filmed in this country. With all hell broken loose, a telephone rings and we hear General "Buck" Turgidson, the Air Force chief of staff, huskily whispering: "Of course it isn't only physical. I deeply respect you as a human being." The President, an arrant *schlemiel* named Merkin Muffley (credit Southern with these names), can find nothing more masterful to say on the hot line to the Soviet premier (who is drunk) than: "Hello, Dmitri. Listen, I can't hear too well. Do you suppose you could turn the music down a little?" After several

minutes of small talk and equivocation (during which giant illuminated maps track the bombers' approach to their Russian targets), he finally lapses into baby talk to confess that General Ripper "went and did a silly thing."

The bombers fly on and the minutes tick away while knaves and fools, still too preoccupied with petty self-interest to give Doomsday itself the attention it warrants, are thwarted at every turn by an impersonal technology they can no longer control. General Ripper's British aide, who has discovered the recall signal at the last minute, can't get a call through to the President because he lacks the proper change for a toll

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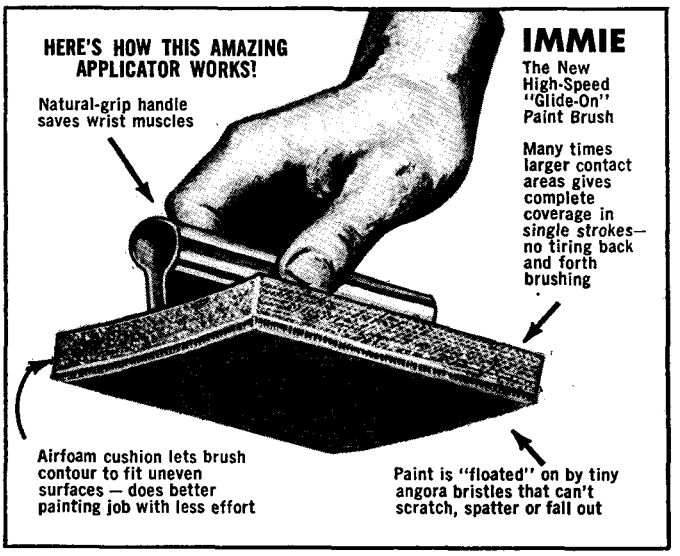
FOUR MINUTES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Paint is "floated" on by tiny angora bristles that can't scratch, spatter or fall out

Stopwatch-timed photos show progress of painting race between TV twins, Cynthia and Julia Lacy. Using an IMMIE high-speed "glide-on" applicator, Cynthia scores a dramatic victory over her identical twin.

Painting Race Between Twins Proves New Type Brush "Twice as Fast"

Revolutionary New "Glide-On" Brush Does Painting Jobs Easier, Better, and in Half the Time!

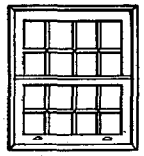
NO DRIP! NO MESS! NO SPATTER!

Whether you're painting a chair or a ceiling, an IMMIE brush doesn't spatter. Virtually drip-proof, too! To make it drip, you have to make it take up an excess of paint.

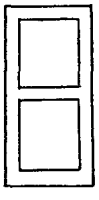
PAINTS ROUGH AND IRREGULAR SURFACES

With an air-foam cushion under its angora bristles, the IMMIES' painting surface contours to fit into every hollow and crevice of whatever you are painting — even deep-grooved shingles.

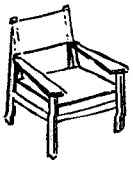
APPROXIMATE PAINTING TIME



WINDOW 25 minutes instead of one hour



Panel Door 12 minutes instead of 26 minutes



CHAIR 10 minutes instead of 47 minutes.

By PERRY SCHOFIELD

I've just seen an astonishing demonstration of a totally new kind of paint applicator. In a dramatic race between TV's identical Lacy Twins, I saw one of them paint 50 square feet of clapboard siding — without a single spatter or drip — in just 4 minutes by stopwatch. She glided the paint on smoothly and with almost no effort, while her identical twin — streaking and dripping in a frantic struggle to keep up — wasn't able to cover even half the area.

Astonishing New Invention

The winning twin's secret was a revolutionary new-type painting invention called an IMMIE. Unlike conventional paint brushes which require frequent dips in the paint and a lot of tiring back-and-forth wrist action, the IMMIE virtually "floats" the paint on with a single continuous stroke. And it needs to be dipped only about one-third as often.

This is because the IMMIE has at least ten times as many bristle ends that spread the paint with incredible ease and speed. I could hardly believe my eyes when I tried it myself. I painted a strip 6½ inches wide and 5 feet long in just 3½ seconds. Imagine it — 390 square inches in 3½ seconds! And there were no skips, no streaks, no brush marks — none of it had to be gone over!

One-third As Many Dips In The Paint

What amazed me most was the immense area that could be covered with a single dip in the paint — about three times as much as with a conventional brush. This is because the IMMIE is scientifically designed to spread practically ALL the paint it picks up — doesn't hold most of it back in the bristles as conventional brushes are inclined to do.

"AMAZE YOURSELF" TRIAL OFFER!

We know the IMMIE sounds so astonishing you can't possibly believe all it does unless you see it with your own eyes. This is why we *are offering you these six IMMIE* brushes — the complete "Basic Home Owner's Set" — to try at our risk. Furthermore, just to get you to try them now and tell your friends, we are offering you this set at the special price of only $5.98. Yet IMMIES give you genuine Angora bristles — not nylon, horse hair or pig bristles.

Money Back If Not Thrilled

When you receive your set of IMMIE brushes, test them on every kind of paint job you can, even with shellac, varnish and lacquer. If you aren't thrilled — if you don't find they do better work and paint at least twice as fast as conventional brushes — then SEND THEM BACK DIRTY any time within sixty days and we'll refund your money in full. Don't wait. Mail coupon now!

Used By N. Y. State Painting Contractor

The following is from a letter by a million-dollar-a-year Rochester, N. Y., firm:

"As one of New York State's larger painting contractors, we have had extensive opportunity to compare your brush with the conventional brush.

It is our firm opinion that your new brush is unquestionably superior to the conventional brush in several respects.

(1) Your brush provides a more even application which results in a higher quality job.

(2) Your brush is faster. It applies these liquid coatings in a fraction of the time required by a conventional brush.

(3) Your brush is neater — dripping and spattering are materially reduced.

(4) Your brush is economical — its retail price being considerably less than conventional brushes.

To our knowledge there is no finer tool available for this application than your brush."

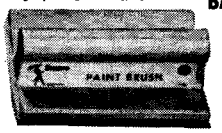
MAIL THIS NOW!

HARRISON INDUSTRIES, Dept. 1-R
250 Passaic Street, Newark, New Jersey

Special Invitation to Home Owners

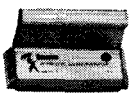
Yes, I want to try the revolutionary new IMMIE brushes on your special introductory trial offer. Send me the "Basic Home Owner's Set" of 6 brushes pictured below. I understand I may use all these brushes, trying them on every kind of painting job. Then if I am not thrilled with the way they paint—if they don't do everything claimed for them—then I may return them used and dirty and you will refund my $5.98 in full.

BASIC HOME OWNER'S SET

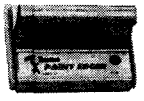


Super-wide 6½- inch brush for floors, ceilings, walls.

Wide 4½-inch brush for doors, closets.



Window Sash painter with built-in paint shield. Keeps paint off glass.



3½-inch brush with Self-Edger for fast, razor-sharp trim work.

3½-inch brush for shelves, stairs, furniture.

Magic Wand Touch Up Brush.

☐ **SEND PREPAID.** I enclose $5.98 in full payment to save postage.

☐ **SEND C.O.D.** I will pay postman $5.98 on delivery plus postage charges.

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ADDRESS.....

CITY.....**ZONE**.....**STATE**.....

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No. 96

by HENRY ALLEN

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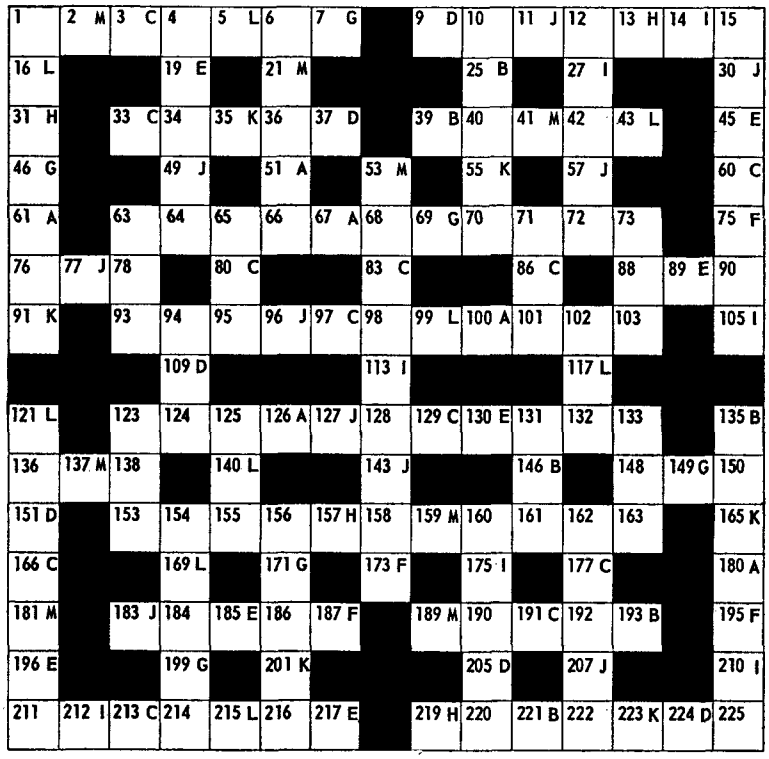
the Reporter Magazine Company

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A
51 126 67 180 100 61 Tumult or uproar.

B
221 39 146 193 25 135 "What_____came to shed their coats?" Swinburne, "Faustine."

C
191 177 166 80 86 60 3 129 97 83 213 33 What crooked gambling machines are set for (8,4).

D
109 151 9 37 224 205 Name of the girl who lost her pocket.

E
185 45 89 196 217 19 130 Seven young men fled, slept for 187 years, and became known as the "Seven Sleepers of_____."

F
173 195 75 187 "Who never_____ the truth to serve the hour." Tennyson, "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington."

G
69 171 7 46 199 149 Mountain sprites.

H
157 31 219 13 Name of a former Ambassador to Italy.

I
27 210 113 105 175 14 212 What an auctioneer asks just before he drops the hammer (3,4).

J
183 30 143 11 49 127 77 96 57 207 Sleepiness.

K
201 35 223 91 165 55 "Sapping a_____ creed with_____sneer." Byron, "Childe Harold" (on Gibbon). (Same word twice.)

L
5 117 99 169 43 16 140 121 215 "And he but naked, though locked up in steel, / Whose conscience with_____ is corrupted." Shakespeare, /"Henry VI."

M
159 189 2 137 53 181 21 41 One name for the country of the Acrostician.

ACROSS

1. The law officer may be fresh if he is crossed.
9. Able to dimple the surface if glowing?
33. Garment which mocks its wearer.
39. Officials who ride in a sedan.
63. It's realer about such a disturbed spot in the world (7,4).
76. Flower decoration from the little island.
88. Haggard heroine in the masher's embrace!
93. A title of the Acrostician (4,2,5).
123. Is air in fashion? As long as you are, Pop! (7,4).
136. Roll down here, according to 123 across.
148. Some, but not many.
153. You'll find this coming or going (6-5).
183. You don't seed tea. Find a mount instead.
189. If this is cannibal, it could be a biter.
211. Remedy when you change clothes.
219. The man in the rich Arlesienne suite.

DOWN

1. Canonize Uriah, but trip on it.
4. A spirit or anything else may be something bruited about.
6. Kind of kerchief worn in terrific hunting races.
10. A near kind of stadium.
12. A caper of youth when he is caned.
15. The upper part appealed, but it fell over.
53. But former loves may be cold (3,6).
63. The sesame grown in still waters.
65. Tahitian god of fertility or other things.
71. It takes love to make this man adore, it's said.
73. The kind of tree found in Kansas homesteads.
94. International Labor Organization goes double in a Philippine Island.
102. The girl of All-American notoriety.
121. The farmer takes a fall.
123. Seed husk is not quite dope.
125. More in Rome sounds odorous.
131. It's singular and uneven all at once.
133. Late Secretary General rolls over to flit about.
135. Images used in the orchestra, they say.
154. The route may be the outside one.
156. Bestow good on Elizabeth I when she takes a pound.
160. The thorn under the Pole Star.
162. The coal which may glow in December days.

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phone. Colonel "Bat" Guano, a monumental cretin given to maundering about "deviated preverts" and the sanctity of the Coca-Cola Company, at first refuses in this crisis to shoot open the coin box of a soft-drink machine for fear of bringing corporate retribution down on his own head (and then receives it anyway, when the mortally wounded machine nearly drowns him in the gushforth of *its* precious bodily fluids).

BIZARRE as all this may sound, it is presented with absolute assurance and a hair-raising nightmare verisimilitude. Even the photography has a looming, surrealistic slickness that suggests an eerie absence of any human agency, and the cast is simply superlative. Sterling Hayden as Ripper is the very model of a manic right-wing general, while Keenan Wynn as Guano, Slim Pickens as a gopher-faced pilot from Texas ("If this thang [the nuclear attack] turns out to be half as important as Ah thank it just maght be . . ."), and George C. Scott's Turgidson are flawless. (When all is lost and a lethal curtain of radioactivity is enveloping the earth, the momentarily abashed Turgidson decides the time is ripe for repentance. He strikes an attitude of reverence, then invokes Him, bellowing "LORD!" like a drillmaster chewing out a hapless recruit.)

The three remaining principal roles are handled with consummate artistry by the uncanny Peter Sellers, who plays President Muffley, Group Captain Mandrake (Ripper's British aide), and Kubrick's personification of the sickness of our times: Dr. Strangelove, whose name has been anglicized from his native German, and who might be described as a sort of technanthrope. Dark-goggled, dentured, bewigged, he is wheelchair-ridden and dependent upon a prosthetic right arm. This *ersatz* member goes completely haywire on occasion, bedeviling Strangelove's existence by withholding information from him (each piece of data he wants must be removed forcibly from a black-gloved artificial hand), by betraying him publicly with unbidden Nazi salutes, and finally by attempting to strangle him.

Following a nightmare logic—the only logic relevant to the matter at hand—Kubrick suggests that the rationale whereby most of us allay our dread of an atomic cataclysm (we can depend on our leadership and can control our technology) is no more logical and no less nightmarish than Dr. Strangelove himself. Those who have protested that it can't happen this way are simply begging the question implicit in Kubrick's argument: How else could it happen?

The Smoker by Fernando Krahn

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BOOKS

What Killed Forrestal?

WILLIAM H. HESSLER

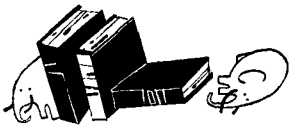
JAMES FORRESTAL, by Arnold A. Rogow. *Macmillan. $6.95.*

In the nearly two centuries of our history, James Forrestal is the only public figure out of the many who have held cabinet-level offices to take his own life. This suggests to me that the political process in America entails a quite consistent selection of stable, moderately thick-skinned extroverts. If a man didn't relish the give-and-take of politics, or at least feel able to take it in stride, he wouldn't venture into public service. But what it seems to suggest to the author of this arresting biography of James Forrestal is altogether different. His apparent conclusion is that the strain of great public responsibility is a major occupational hazard, and one to which we should give more attention so as not to wind up having great national decisions made by unstable minds.

If we choose to ignore this point and to read the book simply as a biography, it is an engrossing, competently researched, judicious study, filling a considerable gap in the vast literature of biography, memoirs, and history spewed out by the Second World War. It provides some fresh insights on the political infighting that marked the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. It sharpens the focus on the interchanges that gave shape to the armed forces unification bill. It offers some revealing incidents in the endless war between civilians and uniformed officers that rages unobtrusively in the Pentagon. There are glimpses also of the other endless war between "crusading journalists" and those public officials they single out as victims. It provides several authentic illustrations of the ways in which industrial or commercial interests insinuate themselves into the policymaking process.

But as a justification for this volume Rogow has advanced his concern over the intolerable strain to which high public officials are subjected. It is appropriate, therefore, not only to appraise the book as a biography but to form some judgment of how well or badly the author has made a case for his declaration that "we need to know much more about the tensions and frustrations of high office."

In his opening chapter, "Death of a Hero," Rogow does a workmanlike job of showing how conflicting pressures closed in on Forrestal; how Drew Pearson, Walter Winchell, and others harassed him unjustly; how he was made to feel a failure in the office of which he was a principal architect; and how the Navy's shortsighted, prudish concealment of Forrestal's serious mental illness may have contributed to his suicide. In the course of the



first fifty pages, we are apparently told that it was the torment of responsibility, of irreconcilable demands and pressures, of dishonest public accusations—tribulations characteristic of the Washington scene—that drove Forrestal to frustration, to a sense of persecution, to illness, and to suicide. And the question is raised whether we should not do better by public servants with such stupendous responsibilities.

YET in the seven succeeding chapters, which constitute the biography, Rogow reveals in abundant detail the tangle of inner conflicts that Forrestal brought to Washington in 1940. As a youth, he chafed under the strictures of a domineering mother who wanted him to be a priest, and also those of the Roman Catholic Church. He broke with both, choosing instead the pleasant road that led to Princeton, to investment banking, to wealth and economic power.

Even at Dillon, Read & Co., where he quickly rose to the presidency, there were frictions, for Forrestal set ambition far ahead of the gregarious living he also liked. And he brought to Wall Street some distinctly New Dealish leanings that set him apart. His marriage did nothing to relieve the tensions of that persistent conflict of ambition and conscience. (He went "back to the office" on the afternoon of his wedding.) He and his wife lived in worlds apart, without separating.

In Washington, there was friction with FDR and his New Deal advisers, and with such equally tense and unyielding figures as Admiral Ernest J. King. Under Truman, Forrestal was a key figure in the cabinet, a power in his own bailiwick, but he disagreed with Truman on a great range of matters. He was not trusted by the President and he knew it. One of the first in high places at Washington to sense the oncoming struggle with the Soviet Union and with Communism, Forrestal waged an ineffectual one-man campaign against both—without, however, becoming a part of the machinery of denunciation then building.

Old business associates made unreasonable demands that he use his influence for their purposes; and each demand posed a new clash of personal loyalties with public conscience. Forrestal opposed the formation of Israel, and earned the ill will of numberless persons. Was it lucid geopolitical thinking that led him to that position? Or was it the fact that he had lived his business life among anti-Semites? Either way, the resulting criticism added to his belief that he was a victim of a conspiracy—a belief that a few irresponsible and vicious columnists did much to confirm.

Forrestal opposed a seventy-group Air Force, clashing with Stuart Symington, then Air Force Secretary. He had his valid reasons; but he had been Secretary of the Navy, and so was labeled a pleader for its special interest. He had moved from investment banking, with its many close ties into big business, to the Pentagon, where big business is forever knocking on doors to seek a bigger

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This is a 12-month subscription that expires in September 1963.

"IT WAS A QUIET WEEK. *The Zanzibar revolution turned out to have Cuban elements, and we know how to handle Cuba, don't we? Sukarno promised to limit his war to the three or four hundred million people most intimately involved in it. A mere handful of Americans were assaulted in the Congo. France recognized Red China. Guerilla conflicts in Burma. President Johnson declared war — on poverty. Peaceful coexistence with it would have been unthinkable.*"

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slice of the billions spent each year for defense. When his public critics were through with him, Forrestal was a victim of "conflict of interest" suspicions long before the phrase had become a basis for the exhaustive scrutiny of candidates for cabinet posts.

It is a tragic narrative, this story of James Forrestal. It is an American tragedy, in that it evolves from business ambition at odds with a perfectionist's sense of obligation in high public office. But I do not think it makes a case for the proposition that the burdens of today's top bureaucrats will turn many of them into tragic mental cases. Forrestal brought with him to the public service all the basic components, the inner tensions, of eventual mental breakdown. Washington, the burdens of office, and the yelping pack of tireless, corrosive critics only provided the fuel for a tragic flame already burning in the mind and spirit of a man who had never been at peace with himself.

The Search For Utopia

RALPH A. STONE

COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS TO NATO, by Roland N. Stromberg. *Praeger. $6.*

From the early years of the First World War until the creation of NATO in 1949, American foreign policy pursued a futile and almost fatal ideal: the establishment of a system of collective security. Such is the provocative thesis of this well-written, well-reasoned book which has not received the attention it deserves since its publication a year ago.

By collective security Professor Stromberg refers primarily to the organizations founded in 1919 and 1945, namely the League of Nations and the United Nations; he does not include in this category the alliance systems that developed after 1949. Though called a kind of collective security by many people, NATO was and is "essentially an ordinary, old-fashioned military alliance," fundamentally different in structure and philosophy from the League and the U.N. Both of these world organizations were in fact regarded at the time of their founding as substitutes for the alliance systems. They also were expected to replace "balance of power" politics, spheres of influence, and heavy national armaments. There were, of course, differences between the two organizations. The League was intended to be a "universal" concert of power with all members working together to preserve the peace, whereas the U.N. was "realistically" designed to give to the few major states (originally the Big Four: the United States, Russia, Britain, and China) much more police power, the thought being that the League's great weakness—lack of co-operation—could be overcome by reducing the number of policemen. Bitter experience showed that collective security in the form of big-power domination was no more effective than it had been under the old system.

Why did collective security fail between 1919 and 1939? Why hasn't it become a trusted and relied-upon system for preserving peace in the years since the Second World War? Essentially, according to Professor Stromberg, the answers boil down to this: collective security reflected wishful thinking about man and the world he inhabited.

First of all, the theory demanded that the powerful nations "make binding commitments for future action" against those who violated the system's obligations. But because of the number of contingencies that could arise, the great nations were naturally unwilling to pledge themselves to uphold obligations that were broad, vague, and frequently contrary to their primary security needs. With no binding commitments, there could be no certainty of swift and overwhelming deterrent power, hence no firm reliance upon the system. Moreover, collective security seemed unable to cope with the problem of change in a dynamic world society. The system by its very nature set a premium upon the maintenance of the status quo, except for changes wrought through "peaceful means." As history has shown, when nations consid-

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Conjecturism

is the modern approach to art

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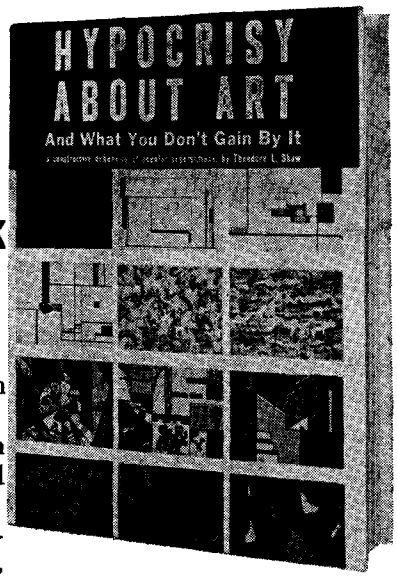

If You Haven't Read This Exciting New Book

You're in a Rut

Because it's the only book we know of, anywhere, which discusses art from the strictly tough-minded point of view.

And because it's your only escape-route, therefore, (if you want one) from the naive and prettified picture of art which the world has regrettably inherited from ancient days.

Even the most sophisticated man will be shaken out of some of his favorite dogmas—and to his benefit, we believe—by the book's relentless search for facts. Where else, for example, would he encounter a candid statement such as that expressed in the famous "stork cartoon" (apologies to Van Gogh) shown below? In our opinion, the answer is NOWHERE. Traditionalists would fiercely reject it as *Blasphemy*. For it plainly deprives them of two of their most "sacred" rights—the right to call certain art works *immortal* and the right to deliver *positive and enduring verdicts of betterness*, on which their entire authority hangs.

And yet the statement is obviously truthful.

After all, how can you appraise art works as permanently "great" or "beautiful" when a dozen men could conceivably be born into your own home-town, say, with the capacity to turn them out in carload quantities.

No, before you can judge an art work's "greatness" you must make an estimate of the human probabilities of its being created both now and for the future—the doing of which is manifestly a ticklish job.

And it is exactly because of this inevitable uncertainty that a completely new approach to art has become necessary—and is being widely adopted. CONJECTURISM.

It's the cautious, reasoned method, rather than the slap-dash, mystic method. It brings art up-to-date much as Evolution brought Biology up-to-date—namely by abandoning the rigid certitude and turning towards the experienced but tentative Conjecture. In the moment that man attempts the eternal verdict in art, he defeats his own purpose as certainly as would the meteorologist who ventured beyond the immediate probabilities in his forecasting of the weather. It just can't be done without stepping openly into Clairvoyance and Mumbo-Jumbo.

The book, HYPOCRISY ABOUT ART, by Theodore L. Shaw, does much more, however, than expound the principles of Conjecturism. With its 153 pages, its over 160 illustrations, many of them in full color, it demonstrates the practical application of it to specific works of art, and shows how the accuracy of man's conjectures can gradually be improved. Whether your purpose is to *create* art or to *understand* and *enjoy* it you will find the book highly interesting and profoundly revealing.

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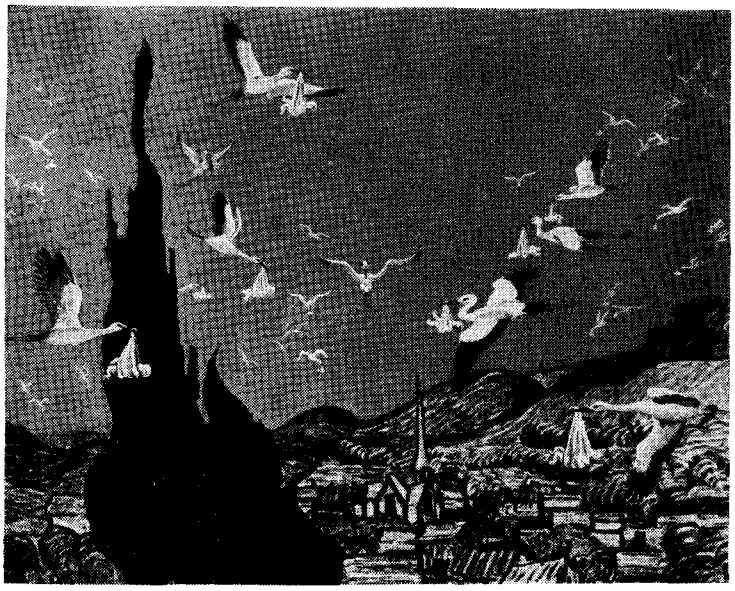

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ered the status quo unjust or inimical to their interests, they did not give full support to the system. They even resorted to violence and war to effect the desired changes if "peaceful means" proved unavailing. Partly, no doubt, to meet this latter problem, exponents of collective security often assumed that most if not all wars resulted from deliberate acts of aggression perpetrated by habitual law-defying states ("bandit nations," or in effect hardened criminals); that aggression could be clearly recognized or even defined; and that punishment would be meted out according to the seriousness of the aggression. These assumptions, says Stromberg, were incredibly naïve and fallacious. But until as late as 1938, Professor Stromberg reminds us, the Nazis committed "no readily identifiable act of aggression" that everyone could agree upon. Furthermore, the status quo powers were divided as to whether the European status quo (established largely by the Treaty of Versailles) deserved to be defended at the cost of war. The whole problem of identifying the aggressor can be seen in recent times in the Arab-Israeli conflict. In short, collective security's assumptions about aggression, no less than those about the making of binding commitments and the defense of the status quo, were unreal.

IF THESE WERE and are the basic weaknesses in collective security, what harmful results occurred in the vain attempt to establish the system? Probably the most unfortunate consequence, the author believes, was the habit of mind that collective security fostered. By its excessively self-righteous moralism, it caused diplomacy to fluctuate wildly from one extreme to another. It helped turn wars into crusades for the annihilation of evil, evil being represented as those who violated the rules of the system. It caused our statesmen, as in the Suez crisis, to come dangerously near alienating allies that only shortly before had co-operated with us in eradicating evil. By its stress on punishment, it reduced the attention paid to compromise and adjustment of conflicting interests. By its "peace is indivisible" philosophy, it threatened to convert every small dispute into a full-scale war. Today, according to Stromberg, this outlook has lost its appeal with most advocates of collective security, principally because of the ubiquitous realization of what total war might mean. (It may be noted, however, that other groups in the United States, especially those on the far Right who often have been collective security's bitterest critics, continue to talk of complete and unconditional victory over evil: this time the Communists.)

In spite of the title, Stromberg's book contains many observations on American foreign policy since 1949. Generally he believes that the search for Utopia has given way to a more realistic purpose, that our

statesmen today place less faith in ultimate answers, that they see more clearly the need to balance the ends of a particular policy with the means available to achieve those ends. But our present policies, however great an improvement over collective-security theories of the past, must themselves be improved if we are to face the future with any equanimity. Stromberg thinks we can probably expect such an improvement if we will discard useless concepts and replace them with reasonable proposals based upon an examination of past successes and failures and upon a reasonable ability to theorize about future conditions. To that end Professor Stromberg has made a valuable contribution through this probing and somewhat myth-shattering work.

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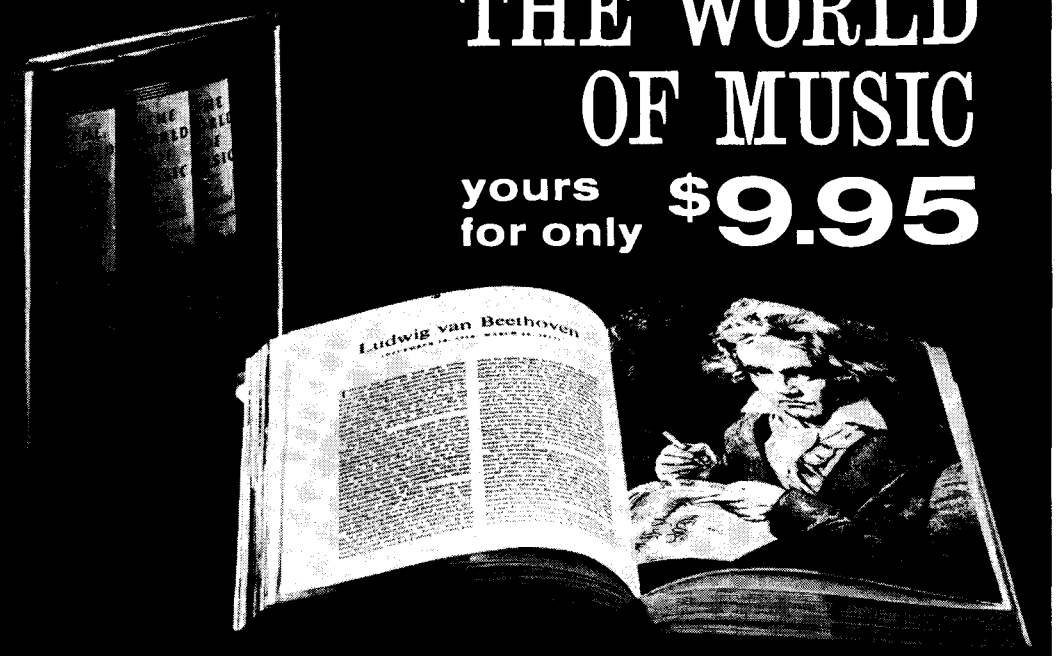

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